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APVLEI APOLOGIA

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WITH INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

BY

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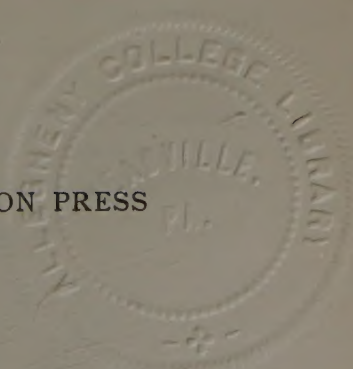
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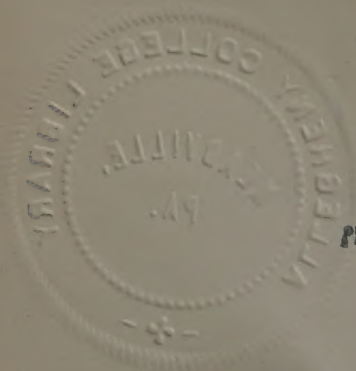
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PREFACE

THE present book is an attempt to provide a full critical and explanatory commentary on the *Apologia* of Apuleius. In spite of the intrinsic interest of the work, it has found no modern commentator. The text and commentary of Hildebrand (1842), though they are far from contributing nothing to our knowledge of Apuleius, are as a whole scarcely satisfactory. Since that date much work has been done on the text, language, and certain aspects of the subject-matter. But the results of these researches have never been collected or sifted, and many questions of interest have been left untouched. The present commentary endeavours to make good these deficiencies. The text and apparatus criticus are based on a fresh collation of *F*, while all MSS. anterior to 1469, the date of the appearance of the editio princeps, have been carefully examined. This examination, though it has to some extent broken new ground, has only confirmed the prevailing view that all extant MSS. derive from *F*. The search has resulted in the discovery of a few readings of interest, but they must all be regarded as the conjectures of scholars of the Renaissance, though not a few of them forestall the emendations of scholars of considerably later date.

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PREFACE

As regards orthography, certain changes have been made. In Helm's text the peculiarities and inconsistencies of the spelling of *F* are rightly presented. But this has been done once and for all, and in the present text the editors have for the sake of appearance attempted to introduce a little more uniformity of spelling. In a few cases, where there is some reason to believe that the unusual features may be due to the author himself, these peculiarities have been preserved. Elsewhere, without seeking an absolutely rigid consistency, the editors have attempted to give the text a somewhat more normal appearance.

The indebtedness of the editors to those who have been in the field before them will be evident from the notes, but they would make special reference to the debt which they and all subsequent editors of Apuleius must owe to the work of Rudolf Helm, whose text of the *Apologia*, *Florida*, and *Metamorphoses* marks an epoch in Apuleian criticism, and also to the exhaustive commentary of Abt on all passages in the *Apologia* which relate to magic. A short bibliography is appended in which are indicated the works consulted for the present edition. The editors would also express their especial gratitude to Dr. L. Purser, of Trinity College, Dublin, for his kindness in reading the proofs of the commentary and introduction, to both him and Mr. Ingram Bywater for the many helpful suggestions and criticisms they have made, and to Mr. de Zulueta, Reader in Roman Law at Oxford, for his assistance in the elucidation of legal difficulties.

PREFACE

As regards the nature of the collaboration, though both editors have revised each other's work, the division of labour may roughly be stated as follows. Professor Butler is responsible for the chapters in the introduction dealing with the life and works of Apuleius and the MSS. of the *Apologia*, for the text and apparatus criticus, and for those portions of the commentary which deal with textual questions and the subject-matter in general. Mr. Owen is responsible for the introductory chapter on the style and language of Apuleius and for the notes dealing with those same questions. He is also responsible for the majority of the notes dealing with passages relating to magic.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION :	
I. Life of Apuleius	vii
II. The Works of Apuleius	xxi
III. The MSS. of the <i>Apologia</i> and <i>Florida</i>	xxix
IV. The Style of the <i>Apology</i>	xliv
SIGLA.	
TEXT.	
COMMENTARY	1
ADDENDA	179
BIBLIOGRAPHY	181
INDEXES :	
I. Names	184
II. General	188
III. Grammatical	199

INTRODUCTION

I. THE LIFE OF APULEIUS

OUR authorities for the life of Apuleius are in the main the *Apologia*, the *Florida*, and the last book of the *Metamorphoses*.¹ He has a passion for taking his audience into his confidence, and as a result it is not hard to reconstruct a considerable portion of his life. He was a native of Madaura, the modern Mdausch, a town loftily situated in the province of Africa above the beautiful valley of the Medjerda. The town was a flourishing Roman colony, and, to judge from the extent of its remains and from the inscriptions discovered on its site, was populous, rich, and highly Romanized.² The family of Apuleius was among the wealthiest and most important in the town. His father attained to the position of *duumvir*, the highest municipal office,³ and left his two sons the very considerable fortune of 2,000,000 sesterces.⁴ As to the date of

¹ See Rohde, *Kl. Schriften*, ii, p. 43; Schwabe, *Pauly-Wissowa, Real-enc.*, s. v. *Apuleius*; Schanz, *Gesch. der röm. Litt.*, §§ 553, 554; Purser, *Cupid and Psyche*, p. ix; Vallette, *L'Apologie d'Apul.*, p. 2. I cannot accept the view that the opening chapter of *Met.*, Bk. I, contains any indications of being autobiographical.

² For descriptions of the site of Madaura see Gsell, *Recherches archéol. en Algérie*, pp. 293 sqq.; Boissier, *L'Afrique romaine*, p. 274. Apuleius does not mention Madaura by name in the *Apologia*, but the description suits Madaura (see c. 24). The only passages where Madaura is mentioned in the works of Apuleius are *Met.* xi. 27, where Lucius speaks of himself as *Madaurensis*, though previously he has appeared as a Greek (see note 4, p. x), and in the *περὶ ἐμπνεύσεως* c. 4 (*ut si pro Apuleio dicas philosophum Platonium Madaurensis*). Even if these passages be considered of doubtful significance, the point would be settled by August. *Civ. Dei*, viii. 14, where he is called *Madaurensis*. He is also so called in the *subscriptio* to *Apol.*, Bk. I (i. e. c. 65 *ad fin.*).

³ c. 24.

⁴ c. 23.

INTRODUCTION

Apuleius' birth there is some uncertainty. But he was more or less a contemporary of Aemilianus Strabo, whom he claims as a fellow student.¹ Now Aemilianus Strabo was *consul suffectus* in A.D. 156,² and is not likely to have been consul before the age of 33.³ This places the birth of Apuleius as, at the most, but a few years later than A.D. 123. Further, the *Apologia* was delivered somewhere between the years A.D. 156–8,⁴ at which date Apuleius' wife Pudentilla was only a little over 40.⁵ Apuleius himself is frequently spoken of as *iuuenis*, and was in any case considerably younger than his wife,⁶ of whose son he was an elder contemporary at the University of Athens.⁷ But he was no longer in his first youth. He speaks as a man of wide experience. He had travelled much,⁸ and established a reputation as a writer and an orator.⁹ The estimate therefore which places his birth about A.D. 124 cannot be far wrong.¹⁰ His name is commonly given as Lucius Apuleius, though the only authority for the praenomen is found

¹ *Flor. 16 commemoravit inter nos iura amicitiae a commilitio studiorum eisdem magistris honeste incohata.*

² *Act. Arv. anno 156; p. clxxi, Henzen.*

³ See Mommsen, *R. Staatsr.* i. 473. Aemilianus Strabo may have been older than Apuleius, but the periods of their studies must have overlapped.

⁴ The speech was delivered before the proconsul Claudius Maximus, who was the successor of Lollianus Avitus (see c. 94). Lollianus was *cos. ord.* in 144 (see Borghesi, *Œuvr.* iv, 508 f.). At this period there was an interval of at least ten and usually thirteen years between consulate and proconsulate (see S. Waddington, *Fastes des Prov. Asiat.*, pp. 12 ff., 231; Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, i. 405–6). Therefore Lollianus was not proconsul before 154, and is most likely to have been proconsul in 157. The proconsulate of Cl. Maximus therefore probably falls between A.D. 155 and 157. In any case the speech was delivered in the principate of Ant. Pius (d. 161); see c. 85.

⁵ c. 89.

⁶ *iuuenis*, see cc. 27, 70, 92: *maior natu*, c. 27.

⁷ c. 72. See Appendix on the age of Pontianus.

⁸ *Apol.* 23.

⁹ *Apol.* 36, 37, 55, 73. He was also clearly on fairly intimate terms with Lollianus Avitus, Claudius Maximus' predecessor in the proconsulship of Africa. Cp. c. 94.

¹⁰ See Rohde, *op. cit.*

LIFE OF APULEIUS

in fourteenth and fifteenth century MSS. The Florentine MS. (Laur. 68. 2), which is the source of all the rest, styles him *Apuleius Platonicus Madaurensis*,¹ and it is probable that the origin of the name Lucius is to be found in the curious identification of himself with Lucius, the hero of the *Metamorphoses*.² At an early age the young Apuleius was sent to Carthage,³ where more advanced education could be received than at his native town.⁴ From Carthage, perhaps about A.D. 143, he proceeded to Athens to complete his education.⁵ There he studied philosophy, rhetoric, geometry, music, and poetry,⁶ and laid the foundations of that encyclopaedic, if superficial, learning, which was his glory in after years. During this period (*circa* A.D. 143-50) he probably began those travels to which he refers in the *Apologia*.⁷ We know that he had visited

¹ See App. Crit. c. 65 and at end of speech.

² *Met.* xi. 27. The identification was actually accepted by Augustine. Cp. *Civ. Dei* xviii. 18.

³ *Flor.* 18 *ita mihi et patria in concilio Africae, id est uestro, et pueritia apud uos et magistri uos et secta, licet Athenis Atticis confirmata, tamen hic incohata est.*

⁴ Madaura had at any rate at a later date good schools. Cp. Augustine, *Confess.* ii. 3 *mihi reducto a Madauris in qua uicina urbe iam coeperam litteraturae atque oratoriae percipiendae gratia peregrinari.*

⁵ *Flor.* 20, which implies that he received instruction from *litterator*, *grammaticus*, and *rhetor* at Carthage, before going on to more advanced studies at Athens. The date of his visit to Athens cannot be exactly determined. A boy might proceed from rhetoric to philosophy as early as 14, but 16 or 17 was a more usual age, while there is evidence for as late an age as 20. See Rohde, *op. cit.*, p. 51, whose notes I summarize: (Age 14) Athen. *ap. Oribas.* iii, pp. 162-4 (Dar.). (Age 15) Galen, *de ord. libr.*, vol. xix, p. 59 (Kühn). (Age 16) Eunapius in *Vit. soph.*, pp. 58, 74, 92; Augustine, *Confess.* ii. 3; Persius in *Vit. Persii de comm. Prob.* (Age 18) Kaibel, *Epigr.* 228, 1. 2. (Age 20) Ulpian, *Dig.* xxvii, 2, 3 § 5. Cp. also Friedländer, *Sitteng.* iii, pp. 471, 645. As Apuleius was in Athens in all probability as late as A.D. 150 (*vid. infr.*), 143 seems a suitable date. Five years' study at the University seems to have been a fairly normal period (cp. Gothofredus, *cod. Theodos.* xiv. 9, 1; Eunapius in *Vit. soph.*, p. 92 f.; Gregor. Thaum. in Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 30). But Apuleius travelled much during this period and in any case longer periods of study are found, as might be expected. E.g. Greg. Naz. *de uita sua*, v. 239; Liban. i, p. 20. 15 (Reisk.); Augustine, *l.c.* See Rohde, *op. cit.* p. 52.

⁶ *Flor.* 20.

⁷ *Apol.* 23 *longa peregrinatione et diutinis studiis.*

INTRODUCTION

Samos¹ and Hierapolis in Phrygia² from casual allusions in the *Florida* and *de Mundo*. He remained in Athens long enough to become the friend and protector of a student much younger than himself, Pontianus the son of Pudentilla.³ This encounter was destined to have a remarkable sequel. Following these years of study at Athens must come his visit to Rome, which is alluded to in the *Florida*, and apparently described in the eleventh book of the *Metamorphoses*. While it is impossible to say precisely how far this strange book may be considered autobiographical, it can scarcely be doubted that it is so to a very large extent.⁴ There is at any rate nothing impossible in the supposition that at Cenchreae he fell into the clutches

¹ *Flor.* 15 *si recte recordeor uiam.*

² *de M.* 17 *ut uidi et ipse.*

³ *Apol.* 72. Apuleius helped Pontianus in his studies, and his whole tone in speaking of him is that of an older man, just as that of Pontianus is the tone of a younger man. Cp. c. 97 *me parentem suum, me dominum, me magistrum*. It was common for a young student to put himself under the protection and direction of an older student. See Lehrs, *de Arist. stud. Hom.*, p. 14, note 1. The date can scarcely have been earlier than A. D. 150. Apuleius says (*Apol.*, c. 72) *non ita pridem*. For the age of Pontianus see Appendix to this chapter.

⁴ He definitely styles himself *Madaurensem* (*Met.* xi. 27). If this reading is correct we can hardly deny a more or less complete identification of Apuleius with his hero Lucius. He had visited Rome (*Flor.* 17) and had been initiated into many mysteries (*Apol.* 55). The identification is extraordinary, for there is no hint elsewhere that Lucius is other than a native of Corinth. He has letters of introduction from Demeas of Corinth (*Met.* i. 22). He speaks of Corinth as *apud nos* (*Met.* ii. 12). It is presumably from Corinth that his friends come to Cenchreae (*Met.* xi. 18), and to Corinth that he returns for a few days' stay prior to his departure for Rome (*ib.* 26). On the other hand, though Corinth is literally his home, he never shows any interest in it, and curiously enough shows no intimate acquaintance with it or joy at revisiting it when he is brought there while still wearing the form of an ass. The stress laid on his financial straits at Cenchreae and his grief on leaving the priest at Cenchreae, all suggest that his home was more distant than Corinth, six miles away (x. 35). I do not regard any alteration of *Madaurensem* as necessary. The only alteration that has the least plausibility is that of Mr. D. S. Robertson (*Class. Quarterly*, Oct. 1910, p. 221) *mandare se religiosum, sed admodum, etc.* The case is argued most ingeniously, but I am not convinced that the change is imperative. Apuleius is the most whimsical of authors and is a law to himself. The opening chapter of the first book of the *Metamorphoses* cannot be regarded as possessing any biographical value. It is apparently pure fiction.

LIFE OF APULEIUS

of the priests of Isis, who played upon his superstition and curiosity to their hearts' content. He was first initiated into the mysteries of Isis.¹ A few days after this event the goddess appeared to him in a vision and bade him set forth homeward.² He subsequently took ship for Rome, where he dwelt, a fervent worshipper at the temple of Isis on the Campus Martius.³ Once more visions of the night began to afflict him; he consulted the priests and discovered the cause; he required yet to be initiated into the mysteries of Osiris.⁴ The priests of Cenchreae had worked upon his credulity to such good effect that he found himself in serious financial difficulties, but by prodigious efforts of economy he succeeded in scraping together a sufficient sum to provide for the expense of this fresh initiation.⁵ But his troubles were not at an end. The Roman priests insisted on his being re-initiated into the mysteries of Isis. This time funds were not lacking to meet the expenses thus entailed. By practising as a rhetorician, he had succeeded in providing more than adequately for his needs.⁶ Apart from these possibly rather dubious details from the *Metamorphoses*,

¹ *Met.* xi. 21-4.

² *Ib.* 24.

³ *Ib.* 26. He arrives on the eve of the Ides of December.

⁴ *Ib.* 27.

⁵ *Met.* xi. 28 *postremo iussus, ueste ipsa mea quamvis paruula distracta, sufficientem conrasi summulam.* This does not seriously conflict with the statement made by Apuleius in the *Apologia* (c. 23) that his *patrimonium* was *modice imminutum*. The account in *Met.* xi. is probably exaggerated, quite legitimately for the sake of effect, or we may suppose that Apuleius was unable to obtain ready money at that distance from his home.

⁶ *Met.*, l. c. *quae res . . . uictum uberiores subministrabat, quidni, spiritu fauentis Euentus quaesticulo forensi nutrito per patrocinia sermonis Romani.* This is sometimes asserted to mean that he practised at the Roman bar. *patrocinia sermonis Romani* points rather to rhetoric, pure and simple. Rhetoric was, moreover, considered the more honourable profession by the 'new sophists' (cp. Rohde, *Griech. Roman*, p. 303). Further, we may compare the undoubted reference to rhetoric in *Apol.* 34 *eloquentiae patrocinium. quaesticulo forensi* (l.c.) and *stipendiis forensibus* (*Met.* xi. 30) are quite consistent with this view. Rhetoricians taught in the forum; cp. Hieron. *ad a. p. Chr.* 352; Aus. *Prof. Burd.* iii. 7; August. *Conf.* i. 16; and also the words which follow *Met.* ix in *F* 'in foro Martis controuersiam declamans oratori Endeleshio'. Cp. Helm, *Introd. to Florida*, pp. xiii, xiv.

INTRODUCTION

the only reference made by Apuleius to his stay at Rome is in the *Florida* (c. 17), where in a discourse delivered before Scipio Orfitus, proconsul of Africa, he alludes to the days when he frequented the company of Scipio's friends at Rome. On his return to Africa we lose sight of him till his arrival at Oea and the commencement of the curious drama set forth in the *Apologia*.

Whether he dwelt at Madaura or at Carthage we cannot say with certainty. Probability points to Carthage. Not only would Carthage give greater scope for the display of his peculiar talents, but we know from his own lips that he had made the acquaintance of Lollianus Avitus, the governor of the province.¹ In any case the desire to travel seized him once again. He decided to visit Alexandria,² and it was in the course of his journey thither that the crisis in his life occurred to which we owe the *Apologia*. For on his journey eastward he fell sick at Oea, the modern Tripoli. In this town there dwelt a wealthy lady, named Aemilia Pudentilla, the widow of Sicinius Amicus, by whom she had two sons, Sicinius Pontianus and Sicinius Pudens. Pontianus was already the friend of Apuleius; he had, as we have seen, made his acquaintance at Athens; an intimacy had sprung up between them, and they had lived under the same roof. Hearing, therefore, of Apuleius' mishap, he called on him at the house of the Appii, friends with whom he was lodging.³ The reason for Pontianus' visit was somewhat remarkable. It was more than a visit of courtesy. His grandfather had been anxious that Pudentilla should take a second husband in the person of his son and her brother-in-law, Sicinius Clarus, and with this end in view threatened to exclude her sons, whose guardian he was, from the possession of their father's property

¹ *Apol.* 94.

² *Apol.* 72. The fact that he came to Oea *en route* proves that he was travelling from some African town.

³ *Apol.* 72.

LIFE OF APULEIUS

if she married elsewhere. She therefore suffered herself to be betrothed to Sicinius Clarus, described by Apuleius as a boorish and decrepit old man, but put off her marriage until her father-in-law's death relieved her from all embarrassment.¹ Pontianus and Pudens succeeded to the property, and Pudentilla felt herself free to take a husband of her own choice.² She wrote to Pontianus, who was pursuing his studies at Rome,³ to inform him of her intentions. Pontianus was disturbed by the news. The property left to himself and Pudens by their grandfather was small, and all his expectations of wealth depended on the ultimate inheritance of his mother's fortune, no inconsiderable sum (4,000,000 sesterces).⁴ He was therefore most anxious that his mother should marry an honest man, who might reasonably be expected to treat his stepsons fairly, and with this in view he hastened from Rome to his native town. At this point Apuleius was detained at Oea. Pontianus saw in him a heaven-sent stepfather, and it was with this in his mind that he called on Apuleius. He did not declare his intentions at once. He contented himself with dissuading Apuleius from pursuing his journey till the next winter came round, and persuaded him to come and stay at his mother's house.⁵ Apuleius accepted the offer and their old intimacy revived. At last a suitable occasion offered for the declaration of Pontianus' wishes. Apuleius had given a public lecture at Oea. His audience broke into frenzied applause and begged Apuleius to become a citizen of their town. When the audience were gone, Pontianus took Apuleius aside, and saying that the popular enthusiasm was a sign from heaven, entreated him to marry Pudentilla.⁶ After much

¹ *Apol.* 68. Pontianus was thus left his brother's guardian.

² *Apol.* 69. She was moved to do so not only by the loneliness of her life, but by ill health and medical advice.

³ *Apol.* 69.

⁴ *Apol.* 71. Of this sum she actually owed a considerable amount to her sons, though they had no security for it, relying, naturally enough, on her word alone.

⁵ *Apol.* 72, 3.

⁶ *Apol.* 73.

INTRODUCTION

deliberation Apuleius consented, though the lady was neither fair to view nor young.¹ She had been a widow for more than thirteen years² and was now over forty.³ Soon, however, he began to love Pudentilla for her own sake; her virtues and intelligence won his heart and overcame his desire for further travel. The marriage was duly solemnized in a country house belonging to the bride.⁴ But it brought Apuleius no peace. Sicinius Aemilianus, another brother of her first husband, and Herennius Rufinus, the disreputable father-in-law of Pontianus,⁵ were both up in arms. Rufinus had hoped, through his son-in-law, to reap a rich harvest from Pudentilla's fortune; Aemilianus resented the treatment of his brother, Sicinius Clarus. They sought, therefore, how they might have their revenge. Their first step was to win Pontianus and Pudens to their side.⁶ This they succeeded in doing in spite of the generous treatment accorded by Apuleius to his stepsons.⁷ Pontianus fell sick and died before they could carry out their designs. He had, moreover, repented of his baseness to his former friend, though death prevented him from showing what his repentance was worth.⁸ Pudens, however, a mere boy,

¹ *Apol.* 73.

² *Apol.* 68.

³ *Apol.* 89. The accusers asserted that she was 60, after which age women were forbidden to marry; see note *ad loc.*

⁴ *Apol.* 88. The accusers objected to the fact that she was not married at Oea. For the significance of this charge see note *ad loc.*

⁵ *Apol.* 74 sqq.

⁶ It was apparently only after Pontianus' marriage (which took place shortly before the marriage of Apuleius) that he broke with Apuleius. See c. 77. Pontianus is already married when Rufinus approaches him on the subject. Pudens only comes into prominence after Pontianus' death, when he fell fully under Rufinus' influence. See c. 98.

⁷ The terms of the marriage settlement were that if the wedding proved childless the whole *dos* should go to Pontianus and Pudens; but if Pudentilla left one son or one daughter of the second marriage surviving her, half the property should go to that child, while Pontianus and Pudens received the remainder (cc. 91 sqq.). Further, at a later stage after Pontianus' death, Apuleius persuaded Pudentilla much against her inclination to draw up a will making Pudens her sole heir.

⁸ *Apol.* 94.

LIFE OF APULEIUS

was completely under the thumb of Aemilianus and Rufinus,¹ and a number of more or less serious charges were brought against Apuleius in his name.

The proconsul, Claudius Maximus (*circa* A. D. 156-8),² was holding his assize at Sabrata, the modern Sabratta, lying on the coast some forty miles west of Oea. Apuleius had proceeded thither to defend an action brought by the brothers Granius against his wife Pudentilla.³ Suddenly, without warning, Aemilianus unmasked his batteries, and, with his own lips and through his advocates⁴, accused Apuleius not only of using magic to win the heart of Pudentilla, but of having murdered his stepson Pontianus and appropriated the fortune of Pudentilla. Under what circumstances these charges were brought forward is not clear. Aemilianus may have been directly concerned in the suit brought by the brothers Granius, and the charges may have been first produced to damage Apuleius as his wife's advocate.⁵ Be this as it may, within four or five days⁶ Apuleius was indicted for the practice of the black art, and was incidentally accused of being a fop⁷ and a debauchee,⁸ who had married his elderly wife solely for the sake of her money.

The charge of murder was dropped,⁹ and Aemilianus sheltered himself behind the youthful Pudens, who was too young to plead in person. Aemilianus therefore appeared as his representative.¹⁰ Apuleius represents himself as wholly unprepared for such an indictment.¹¹ But he shows singularly little embarrassment in dealing with the charges brought against

¹ *Apol.* 98. After Pontianus' death he betook himself to the house of Aemilianus, who, according to Apuleius, did everything to deprave him, while Rufinus designed to marry him to his daughter, the widow of Pontianus, c. 97.

² See note on Cl. Maximus, c. 1. ³ *Apol.* 1.

⁴ and ⁵ *patroni eius* (c. 1) suggests the possibility that the Granii were the *patroni* in question. See note *ad loc.*

⁶ *dies quintus an sextus est* (c. 1).

⁷ *Apol.* 4 sqq., 13.

⁸ *Apol.* 9 sqq.

⁹ *Apol.* 2.

¹⁰ *Apol.* 2. Cp. also c. 85 *et nondum poenae, iam iniuriæ sufficit.*

¹¹ He had, however, already been attacked by Pontianus and Rufinus on this ground; cp. c. 82.

INTRODUCTION

him. That the charge was false may be regarded as almost certain. It is probable enough that Apuleius may on occasion have practised magic: his insatiable curiosity may have led him to experiment in this direction, and his subsequent reputation does something to confirm these suspicions.¹ But the specific charges of magic on this occasion were frivolous and absurd, and he has little difficulty in disposing of them. He found also incidentally an opportunity for a flamboyant display of the learning of which he was so proud. In the first portion of the speech² he plays with his accusers, mocking them from the heights of his superior learning. In the second portion,³ where he defends his marriage with Pudentilla and justifies his dealings with his stepsons, he clears himself in good earnest—nay, does more than clear himself, for he unveils in the most merciless fashion the villany of his accusers, the base ingratitude of his stepsons, and the unspeakable turpitude of Rufinus. The speech is one of the most remarkable in existence. While portions of it make us laugh quite as much at Apuleius as with him, it is, as a whole, an admirable piece of pleading. And there is probably no speech which throws such a flood of light on the private life and the intellectual atmosphere of its time. Apuleius reveals himself as a perfect specimen of the ‘new sophist’, while the picture given of provincial life is vivid to the last degree. Without in any way pressing the comparison, it is not unjust to say that only the *Pro Cluentio* of Cicero can vie with it in the vivacity of its portraiture and its revelations of domestic life.

That Apuleius was acquitted cannot be doubted. His case speaks for itself, and the publication of the speech was probably, in a sense, a cry of triumph over his defeated adversaries. But it is noteworthy that we hear no more of him at Oea, where at the time of his trial he had resided for three years. This

¹ See p. xviii.

² cc. 1–65, styled Book I in the MSS.

³ cc. 66–end, Book II in MSS.

LIFE OF APULEIUS

distressing family quarrel must have left much bitterness behind it, while Augustine¹ mentions a dispute with the inhabitants of Oea on the question of the erection of a statue in his honour. Be this as it may, when we next hear of him, not long after, he is at Carthage, enjoying the highest renown as philosopher, poet, and rhetorician. It was during this residence at Carthage that he delivered many of those fantastic declamations of which fragments have been preserved in the *Florida*. Of these excerpts a few can be dated. The seventeenth is written during the proconsulate of Scipio Orfitus in A. D. 163-4.² The ninth contains a panegyric of the proconsul Severianus, who must have held office some time during the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, A. D. 161-9.³ The sixteenth refers to Aemilianus Strabo, who was *consul suffectus* in A. D. 156, and was perhaps at the time of Apuleius' speech proconsul designate of Africa. His proconsulate cannot be dated with certainty, but probably falls between A. D. 166 and 170.⁴ Only one further indication of date is found in the works of Apuleius. In the eighteenth excerpt he says that the Carthaginians have been familiar with his declamations both in Greek and Latin for the past six years. As his first known appearance in public at Carthage was before Lollianus Avitus, the predecessor of Claudius Maximus, this passage may perhaps be dated five years after the delivery of the *Apologia*.⁵

Apuleius won more than mere applause. Carthage decreed

¹ *Ep.* 138. 19.

² *C. I. L.* viii. 24.

³ This is proved by the mention of *fauor Caesarum* (*Flor.* 9).

⁴ Cp. fragment of *acta Arualium*, p. clxxi, Henzen. The proconsulate was generally held 10-13 years after consulate. Serius Augurinus, cos. ord. in 156, was proconsul of Africa A. D. 169, 170 (cp. Waddington, *Bullett. dell' Instit.*, 1869, p. 254), which suggests that Aemilianus followed him rather than preceded him. Aemilianus Strabo was a contemporary of Apuleius and probably an African. He had at any rate studied *eisdem magistris* (*Flor.* 16). In the same excerpt he is spoken of as *brevi uotis omnium futurus proconsul*, which may possibly mean that he was already designated proconsul.

⁵ *uox mea utraque lingua iam uestris auribus ante proximum sexennium probe cognita.*

INTRODUCTION

a statue in his honour, and Aemilianus Strabo promised to erect another.¹ He was also appointed to the chief-priesthood of the province,² an office which entitled its holder to the first place in the provincial council, and was the highest honour that the province could bestow. Civil office he never held, perhaps never sought.³ His genius was probably far from fitting him for judicial or administrative functions. If we may trust Apollinaris Sidonius⁴, Pudentilla showed herself a model wife by the passionate interest she took in her husband's work. It is even possible that she bore him a son, as the second book of the *de Dogmate Platonis* is dedicated to 'my son Faustinus'.⁵ Of his death we know nothing. Testimony as to his appearance is conflicting. His accusers charge him with being a 'handsome philosopher'.⁶ He replies that his body is worn with the fatigues of study and that his hair is tangled as a lump of tow!⁷

References to Apuleius and his works are not frequent outside the pages of Augustine. Apollinaris Sidonius speaks of *ponderis Apuleiani fulmen*.⁸ Macrobius alludes casually to his powers as a romancer,⁹ and we learn from Capitolinus¹⁰ that the pretender Clodius Albinus was passionately devoted to him, while Christodorus in his *ἐκφρασις* hails him with awe as a sage,¹¹ and his peculiarities of style and diction make him

¹ *Flor.* 16.

² *Flor.* 16 *suscepti sacerdotii*.

³ See note on *Apol.* 24 *splendidissima colonia*.

⁴ *Epist.* ii. 10. 5.

⁵ See also p. xxiv.

⁶ *Apol.* 4 *ad init.* A portrait with the inscription Apuleius is preserved on a contorniate at Paris. But it is probably imaginary. See Bernouilli, *Röm. Ikon.* i. 284-6. A reproduction is in Purser's *Cupid and Psyche*, facing p. ix.

⁷ *Ib.* *ad fin.*

⁸ Apollin. Sid. *Epist.* iv. 3. 1.

⁹ *Comm. in Somn. Scip.* i. 2. 8.

¹⁰ *Capitol. Clod. Alb.* xii. 12. Severus writing to the senate says *maior fuit dolor, quod illum pro litterato laudandum plerique duxistis, cum ille neniis quibusdam anilibus occupatus inter Milesias Punicas Apulei sui et ludicra litteraria consenesceret*.

¹¹ The passage refers to a statue of Apuleius at Byzantium. *Anth. Pal.* ii. 303 καὶ νοερῆς ἀφθεγκτα Λατινίδος ὄργια Μούσης | ἄζετο παπταίνων
xviii

LIFE OF APULEIUS

a happy hunting-ground for the grammarians. But that his fame lived after him to an extraordinary extent is abundantly clear from the works of Augustine. The saint was well acquainted¹ with the works of his compatriot, and was not at all certain that he had not actually been transformed into the shape of an ass.² Be that as it may, he thinks it necessary to warn the faithful against those who would extol the wonder-worker of Madaura as a thaumaturge whose powers surpassed those of Christ.³ For Apuleius lived through the ages no less as a wizard than as a philosopher. The Dark Ages made Vergil a sorcerer long after his death, but Apuleius attained this unenviable reputation with far greater celerity. To such an extent did his fantastic identification of himself with Lucius, the hero of his novel, outweigh his elaborate refutation of the charge of magic in the *Apologia*. But after all who knows that he would not have revelled in this unexpected form of renown?

H. E. B.

APPENDIX ON THE AGES OF PUDENTILLA, PONTIANUS, AND PUDENS.

Pudentilla at the time of the trial (A. D. 155-8) was slightly over 40.⁴ She must therefore have been about 38 at the time of her marriage with Apuleius.⁵ She had been about fourteen

Ἀπολλῆιος ὄντινα μύστην | Αὔσονις ἀρρήτου σοφίης ἐθρέψατο Σειρήν. Lydus, *de Ost.* 44, styles him ὁ μέγας Ἀπουλήιος.

¹ de Deo Socratis, *Civ. Dei* viii. 14; *Apologia*, *ibid.* viii. 19; Met. see next note.

² *Civ. Dei* xviii. 18 sicut Apuleius in libris, quos Asini aurei titulo inscripsit, sibi ipse accidisse ut . . . asinus fieret, aut indicavit aut finxit.

³ *Epist.* 136 Apollonium quidem suum nobis et Apuleium aliosque magicæ artis homines in medium proferunt, quorum maiora contendunt extitisse miracula; *Epist.* 138 conferre Christo uel etiam præferre conantur. See also *Epist.* 102, *quaest.* 6. 32.

⁴ c. 89.

⁵ At the time of the trial Apuleius had been three years at Oea (c. 55). He had arrived in the winter (c. 72) and after many days (*multis diebus*) was persuaded by Pontianus to move to Pudentilla's house. After a

INTRODUCTION

years a widow.¹ She was therefore left a widow about the age of 24. The average age of marriage for women was at this period about 14.²

Pontianus was living at Rome shortly before the time of Apuleius' arrival at Oea and is described as *adultus*³ and *uxori idoneus*.⁴ Assuming his mother to have married at the age of 14-15, he cannot have been much older than 23 when he married the daughter of Rufinus shortly before Pudentilla's marriage to Apuleius.⁵ Neither, on the other hand, is he likely to have been under 21, which seems to have been the age of marriage for men.⁶ He was therefore born at some date not far from the years A. D. 134-5, which would make him about 15 or 16 when he resided with Apuleius at Athens *circa* A. D. 150.⁷ Soon after Apuleius' marriage he went to Carthage to practise his powers of oratory⁸ and not long after died.⁹

Pudens was much younger, for he assumed the *toga virilis* about the time of Pudentilla's wedding.¹⁰ The admission to the ranks of manhood usually took place about the age of 14 or 15,¹¹ but might be, and in this case probably was, later. Apuleius always lays stress on the extreme youth of Pudens, and hints that he assumed the *toga* at an unduly early age. But as a matter of fact he can scarcely have been less than 18 at the time of the trial.¹²

H. E. B.

year's residence there he fell in love with Pudentilla (c. 73 *anno perpeti*) and was married soon after (c. 73 *uix ab eo tantulam moram impetramus*).

¹ c. 68 *per annos ferme XIV memorabili pietate sedulo aluit* might mean that she had been nearly fourteen years a widow when she began to contemplate a second marriage. But *o ingrati XIV anni uiduitatis* (c. 85) shows that the fourteen years refer to the full period of her widowhood.

² Friedländer, *Sittengesch.* i. 551. ³ c. 69. ⁴ c. 70.

⁵ c. 88 *ad inil.* ⁶ See Rohde, *Kl. Schr.* ii, p. 46, note. ⁷ See p. viii.

⁸ c. 94 *tirocinium orationis suae.* ⁹ c. 96.

¹⁰ Apuleius is inconsistent in his statement as to the date of the ceremony. At one point (c. 88, 5, 6, note) he puts it before Pudentilla's marriage, at another (c. 98, note) after Pontianus' death: in any case, whichever statement we regard as true, it will make under a year's difference.

¹¹ Marquardt, *Privatleb.*, pp. 127 sqq.

¹² Apuleius' suggestion that Pudens' admission was premature (c. 98)

WORKS OF APULEIUS

II. THE WORKS OF APULEIUS

A. EXTANT WORKS.

1. As to the date¹ and contents of the *Apologia* sufficient has been said in the chapter on the life of Apuleius, while the details of the style are dealt with in a subsequent chapter. A few words, however, as to its general characteristics may not be out of place here. The speech stands alone among the extant works of Apuleius. For it shows him confronted with a practical problem. Circumstances force him to appear as a genuine human being after a preliminary display as the declamatory and romantic σοφιστής during a considerable portion of the speech. As a result, though the speech contains at least its fair portion of declamation, 'bunkum', and bombast, it has a human as well as a stylistic interest, and the style for all its extravagant Asianism is far less distant from the classical style of oratory than we might have expected from the author of the *Golden Ass* and the *Florida*. In this speech Apuleius is fighting a capital charge. If his adversaries' case was trivial, he at least brought heavy artillery to bear on it; and, after he has concluded his fantastic displays of ill-digested learning in the first half of the speech, he speaks like a man and with real indignation, and the reader realizes that he could be something more than a golden ass!

2. The *Metamorphoses*, commonly called the 'Golden Ass',²

cannot be taken very seriously, for in c. 70 he quotes Pudentilla to the effect that Pudens was *uirili togae idoneus*. Further, we must remember that this statement is taken from a letter to Pontianus written before Apuleius' arrival at Oea. He was therefore probably about 16 when he assumed the *toga uirilis*, and about 18 at the time of the trial.

¹ Whether the *Apologia* is the earliest of his extant works cannot be positively asserted. But there is nothing to prevent it.

² It is the *Asinus Aureus* by the time of Augustine, and the name may have been given by Apuleius. See note 2 on p. xix. Cp. *Civ. Dei* xviii. 18.

INTRODUCTION

is a novel in eleven books. It is on this remarkable work that Apuleius' chief claim to fame must be based. The episode of Cupid and Psyche alone would have sufficed to make it famous. But from beginning to end there is not a dull page. The adventures of Lucius, whether in human or asinine shape, present the most infinite variety, and the fantastic, highly coloured, and poetical style serves to accentuate the romance. This is not the place to discuss the many problems presented by the work as a whole. It is sufficient here to say that, like most of Apuleius' writings, it is not original as far as the main theme is concerned. The story is unquestionably derived either from the lost *Metamorphoses* of Lucius of Patras,¹ or from the extant *Λούκιος ἡ ὄνος* falsely attributed to Lucian. It has been much disputed which of these two works was Apuleius' original. In the opinion of the present writer, both the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius and the *Λούκιος* of the pseudo-Lucian are derived from the lost work of Lucius of Patras.² But a detailed discussion of this complicated problem would be out of place here and must be deferred to a later occasion. The question of the date of the novel does to some extent concern us here. Did it precede or follow the *Apologia*? It has been held (e. g. by Purser in his admirable edition of the *Cupid and Psyche*) that it is the earlier work of the two. There are no definite arguments to be urged in support of this view. The two chief considerations which have given rise to this view are derived (*a*) from the style, (*b*) from the subject-matter. The freshness and exuberance of the style and narrative certainly suggest the work of a young man; but he would be a bold man who should assert that they were beyond the

¹ Photius, *Bibl. cod.* 129; p. 96^b 12 Bekker.

² So Goldbacher (*Zeitschr. für österr. Gymn.*, xxiii (1872), p. 323 and p. 403); Bürger, *de Lucio Patrensi* (Berlin, 1887); Rothstein, *Quaestiones Lucianae* (Berlin, 1888). The opposite view is held by Rohde, *Über Lukian's Schrift Λούκιος ἡ ὄνος* (Leipz. 1869). See too Klein, *Schrift.* ii, p. 70. So too Teuffel, *Studien und Charakteristiken*, p. 572 (Leipz.², 1889).

WORKS OF APULEIUS

capacity of a man of middle age. The second argument is more serious. In the eleventh book of the *Metamorphoses* Apuleius identifies the hero Lucius with himself. He started as a Greek, he ends as *Madaurensis*.¹ In this book he describes with great vividness, as though the remembrance were still fresh on him, how he was initiated into the mysteries of Isis and Osiris at Corinth and Rome. Now in the *Apologia* he speaks of himself as initiated into many mysteries.² It is argued therefore that the *Metamorphoses* precedes the *Apologia*. But all that the argument proves is that the initiations referred to preceded the *Apologia*. The account may easily be later. Further, there are two very serious arguments against this view. (a) If the *Metamorphoses* were already in existence, it is hard to believe that no use would have been made of them by Apuleius' accusers. Apuleius identifies himself with the hero, and the hero throughout the story shows quite a culpable interest in magic. Had such a work been published before the *Apologia*, it must have made Apuleius famous. But the *Apologia* contains not a hint of its existence. It has been suggested that he may have published it anonymously. It is hard to see why he should have done so, and even this hypothesis is difficult in view of the second argument. (b) In the opening chapter of the *Metamorphoses* the hero claims to be descended on the mother's side from the philosopher Sextus, the nephew of Plutarch. Now Sextus was still living, though a very old man,³ in A. D. 160, and it seems scarcely likely that Apuleius would have made Lucius claim kinship with Sextus during the latter's lifetime. This consideration points to a much later date for the novel, nearer A. D. 180 than to the date of the *Apologia*.

3. The *Florida* are excerpts from the declamations of Apuleius. They are for the most part written in a highly

¹ *Met.* xi. 27.

² *Apol.* 55.

³ See Helm, Preface to *Florida*, pp. viii, ix. The above argument is implied in his discussion, though his statement of the case is more elaborate, and in my opinion somewhat irrelevant.

INTRODUCTION

inflated and extravagant style, and show Apuleius in the character of the professional σοφιστής. The subjects with which they deal are very various. Some are from speeches on specific public occasions. Others contain moralizations, legends, or picturesque stories. One describes the main characteristics of the parrot, while another, commonly included in the *Florida*, claims to be an improvisation and tells the familiar fable of the fox and crow.¹ One and all are trivial, and most are grotesque, but there is at least one passage which for excellence of style will compare with anything in Apuleius.² These excerpts are divided into four books. This division is, however, so unsystematic and ill-proportioned that it is probably no more than an indication of the original division of Apuleius' collected declamations and orations, which were, we may infer, grouped in four books. A few of these excerpts can be dated.³ These are all subsequent to the *Apologia*, and it is noticeable that several of them show that Apuleius had attained to a very considerable position⁴ by the time of their delivery.

4. The *de Dogmate Platonis* consists of two books, in which Apuleius, who prided himself on being a Platonist, attempts to set forth the philosophy of his master. He professes to follow the Platonic division of philosophy into Physics, Ethics, and Dialectic. The first book deals with the life of Plato and his theory of the universe. The second, dedicated to 'my son Faustinus', deals with Ethics. The MSS. containing these two books break off at this point, and it is generally assumed that the third book was never written or has been lost.⁵ In no

¹ Speeches on public occasions, 1, 9, 16, 17, 18; moralizations, 2, 6, 7, 11, 13, 21, 22, 23; fox and crow, *D. Socr. prol.*; parrot, 12; picturesque stories, 3, 4, 14, 19.

² 16 the death of the poet Philemon.

³ See Intro., p. xvii, notes 2-5.

⁴ 16.

⁵ A treatise on formal logic, entitled *περὶ ἐρμηνείας*, and attributed to Apuleius on the strength of a passage running (4) *ut si pro Apuleio dicas philosophum Madaurensem Platonicum*, has come down to us, and

WORKS OF APULEIUS

portion of the work does Apuleius show any understanding or real knowledge of the teaching of his master Plato. He is, as ever, the superficial rhetorician, with an omnivorous taste for all manner of learning, but no judgement or critical faculty. There is no clear evidence as to date, but if the dedication to Faustinus is to be taken literally, it is obviously one of his later works. But *filius* may be merely metaphorical, and Faustinus may have been but his disciple and spiritual son. In that case the work may date from almost any period in his life.

5. The *de Deo Socratis* is a flamboyant treatise on the δαιμόνιον of Socrates. It is a declamation¹ of the same class as many of the writings from which we have excerpts in the *Florida*,² and it is a good example of his declamatory style. Apuleius is certainly following, if not translating, a Greek original.³

6. The *de Mundo* is a translation of an extant Greek treatise, a late work entitled περὶ κόσμου and attributed with extravagant falseness to Aristotle.⁴ The translation is free and was printed as the third book of the *de Dogmate Platonis* by Wower in his edition of 1606. It has generally been regarded as a much later work, and it is certainly not Platonic, but rather Stoic and Peripatetic, while it is wholly unlike any other extant work of Apuleius. Recently, however, in his *de Apulei et Albini doctrinae Platonicae adumbratione* (Cracow, 1905), Sinko has shown that not only the two books *de Platone* but also the περὶ ἑρμηνείας have affinities to an abstract of Plato's philosophy attributed to Albinus, a sophist contemporary with Apuleius. (See Hermann's ed. of Plato, vol. vi, Appendix, *Plat.*, pp. 8 sqq.) Ἀλβίνου (codd. Ἀλκινόου) διδασκαλικὸς τῶν Πλάτωνος δογμάτων. For date cp. Galen, *de libris propriis*, xix. 16, Kühn. Galen heard Albinus discourse at Smyrna in A. D. 152. It is possible, therefore, that the περὶ ἑρμηνείας may be the work of Apuleius. The stylistic argument obviously counts for little in a treatise on formal logic. It can scarcely, however, in view of its form be the third book of the *de Platone*. Cassiodorus is the first writer to mention the work as Apuleian. Cp. *de art. et disc. litterarum*, iii. 583.

¹ c. 5 *quid igitur, orator, obiecerit aliqui*; c. 16 *uos omnes qui . . . me auscultatis, etc.*

² It is noteworthy that the MSS. give as a prologue to the *de Deo Socratis* the improvisation on the fox and crow, which is by many regarded as belonging to the *Florida* (24). (But see Schanz, § 563.)

³ c. 14 *id potius praestiterit latine dissertare.*

⁴ Dedicated to an Alexander who is styled ἡγεμὼν ἄριστος.

INTRODUCTION

often inaccurate.¹ Like the second book of the *de dogmate Platonis* it is dedicated to Faustinus.

B. LOST WORKS.

Apuleius had the pen of a ready writer and there were few subjects which did not come within the range of his wide, if superficial, knowledge. But a large proportion, perhaps the majority, of his works have been lost.

In the two passages of the *Florida* he gives a summary of his literary activities. (9) *sed pro his praeoptare me fateor, uno chartario me reficere poemata omnigenus apta uirgae, lyrae, socco, cothurno, item satiras ac griphos, item historias uarias rerum nec non orationes laudatas disertis nec non dialogos laudatos philosophis atque haec et alia eiusdem modi tam graece quam latine, gemino uoto, pari studio, simili stilo.* (20) *canit Empedocles carmina, Plato dialogos, Socrates hymnos, Epicharmus modos,*² *Xenophon historias, [Xeno]crates satiras. Apuleius uester haec omnia nouemque Musas pari studio colit.*

Among the works now lost which are mentioned by Apuleius himself or attributed to him by other writers are the following :—

1. *Poetry.* (a) A volume of light verse entitled *Ludicra*, from which the poem to Calpurnianus is cited.³ A verse probably from the same collection is preserved by Nonius, p. 68 M. This collection may perhaps cover the *satiras ac griphos* cited above. It may equally well have included the erotic poems cited in c. 9.

(b) Hymns to Aesculapius, written both in Greek and Latin.⁴ Cp. *hymnos* cited above.

(c) *Carmen de uirtutibus Orfiti.*⁵

¹ He inserts at times passages from other sources. E.g. cc. 13 and 14 are derived from Gellius ii. 22, while in c. 17 he gives his own personal experience. *uidi et ipse apud Hierapolim Phrygiae.* So, too, he dedicates the work to Faustinus instead of Alexander.

² *modos* seems meaningless. Reich conjectures *mimos*.

³ *Apol.* 6.

⁴ *Florida* 18.

⁵ *Florida* 17.

WORKS OF APULEIUS

(d) A verse translation of an obscene passage from the 'Ανεχόμενος of Menander¹ has come down to us. Cp. above *poemata apta socco*.

2. He also wrote another novel entitled *Hermagoras*, from which short fragments are quoted by Priscian and Fulgentius.²

3. Under the head of *historiae* (cp. the two passages from the *Florida* cited above) comes an *Epitome historiarum* cited by Priscian³ and an *Eroticus*, presumably a collection of love adventures, mentioned by Lydus.⁴

4. His lost speeches are probably numerous. The following are mentioned: (a) In the *Apologia* he speaks of a discourse on the 'majesty of Aesculapius' delivered at Oea,⁵ and of an oration delivered in the presence of Lollianus Avitus, proconsul of Africa.⁶ (b) In the *Florida*,⁷ in his speech thanking Aemilianus Strabo for offering to erect his statue, he promises to deliver a formal oration of thanks on the day of its dedication, and further to commit this oration to writing that it may be known through all the world. (c) Augustine⁸ records that Apuleius published a speech delivered against certain citizens of Oea who objected to the erection of a statue in his honour.

5. Numerous scientific works by Apuleius have been lost. (a) He himself mentions his *quaestiones naturales*, and states that they were written both in Greek and Latin. He specially

¹ It was preserved in a MS. at Beauvais now lost. See Baehrens, *Poet. Lat. Min.* iv. 104.

² Priscian, *Gramm. Lat.* ii, p. 85 K. *Apuleius in primo Hermagorae: visus est et adulescens honesta forma quasi ad nuptias exornatus trahere se in penitiorem partem domus*; Fulgentius (ed. Helm, p. 112. 10, *pollincto eius funere domuitionem paramus*. Cp. also Prisc. *Gramm. Lat.* ii, pp. 111, 135, 279, 528.

³ Prisc. *Gram. Lat.* iii, p. 482 K. *Apuleius ponit in epitomis historiarum 'Aeneanica gens'*; *Ibid.* ii, p. 250 *Apuleius in epitoma: sed tum sestertius dipondium semissem, quinarius quinquessis, denarius decussis ualebat*.

⁴ Lydus, *de Magistratibus*, iii. 64 ταύτη (Omphale) καὶ Σανδῶν 'Ηρακλῆς ἀνῆνέχθη, ὡς Ἀπολλῆϊος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ ἑρωτικῷ.

⁵ c. 55.

⁶ c. 24.

⁷ *Florida* 16.

⁸ August. *Ep.* 138. 19.

INTRODUCTION

mentions a treatise *de Piscibus*.¹ (b) A work *de Arboribus* is attributed to him by Servius.² (c) A *de Re Rustica* is mentioned by Photius and Palladius.³ (d) Priscian refers to his *Medicinalia*,⁴ and (e) Johannes Lydus to his *Astronomica*.⁵ (f) Cassiodorus records a translation of the *Arithmetica* of Nicomachus,⁶ and (g) a treatise *de Musica*.⁷

6. The following lost philosophical writings are mentioned : (a) *de Republica*,⁸ (b) a translation of the *Phaedo* of Plato.⁹

7. Charisius records a work *de Proverbiis*.¹⁰

8. Apollinaris Sidonius and Macrobius mention *quaestiones coniuuiales*.¹¹

C. APOCRYPHAL WORKS.

A few other works have come down to us under the name of Apuleius: sc. *Asclepius*, an hermetic dialogue between Hermes Trismegistus and Asclepius, and a work of the fourth century, *de Herbarum Medicaminibus*, *de Remediis Salutaribus*, a fragment, and a *Physiognomonica*.

There is not the least reason to believe that any of these works are by our author. See Schanz, §§ 571-4.

H. E. B.

¹ *Apol.* 36, 38, 40.

² *ad Georg.* ii. 126.

³ Phot. *Bibl.* c. 163; Palladius, i. 35. 9.

⁴ *Gramm. Lat.* ii, p. 203. 14.

⁵ *de Mens.* 4, 73; *de Ost.* 3, 4, 7, 10, 44, 54.

⁶ *de Arithm. ad fin.*

⁷ *de Musica ad fin.*

⁸ Fulgent. p. 122, 17 (Helm) unde et Apuleius in libro de republica ait : qui celocem regere nequit, onerariam petit.

⁹ Apollin. Sid. *Ep.* ii. 9. 5; Prisc. *Gramm. Lat.* ii, pp. 511 and 520. It has been suggested that a fragment of a Latin translation of the *Phaedo* quoted in Claudianus Mamertus, *de Statu Animae*, comes from the translation by Apuleius. There is, however, no evidence to support this view.

¹⁰ *Gram. Lat.* i, p. 240 K.

¹¹ Apollin. Sid. ix. 13. 3 *A Platonico Madaurensi saltim formulas mutuare coniuuialium quaestionum*; Macrobi. vii. 3. 23.

MSS. OF THE *APOLOGIA* AND *FLORIDA*

III. THE MSS. OF THE *APOLOGIA* AND *FLORIDA*

Previous to 1849 the text of the *Apologia*, *Florida*, and *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius had no scientific basis, as a glance at the Apparatus Criticus and the introductory chapter on the MSS. in Hildebrand's edition will show. The wildest confusion reigned. But in 1849 Heinrich Keil set scholars on the true path. In his *Observationes Criticae in Catonis et Varronis de Re Rustica* (pp. 77 ff.) he points out that all the MSS. of those works of Apuleius that he has seen are derived from one codex, the Laurentianus (plut. 68. 2). All subsequent investigations have shown this to be true. There is but one passage that cannot be traced to this source, namely, an extremely obscene passage inserted in the tenth book of the *Metamorphoses* (c. 21) in a fourteenth century MS., also in the Laurentian Library (plut. 54. 24). This *spurcum additamentum* is clearly not by Apuleius. It is unlike him in style, especially in the copious use of Greek words, while it breaks the natural flow of the passage. On the other hand, though it never appears in any hand earlier than the fourteenth century, it cannot well be a forgery of the Middle Ages or early Renaissance. It is too dexterous and its vocabulary is too *recherché* to admit of that possibility, while the actual text is sufficiently corrupt to suggest a considerable ancestry. There are no indications as to its source. It is conceivable that it may be a translation or paraphrase of the passage as it stood in the lost *Metamorphoses* of Lucius of Patras. It may, on the other hand, have been added at an early date by an ingenious reader of obscene tastes and considerable literary skill. But in any case it must raise the suspicion that there was in existence in the fourteenth century at least a fragment of the *Metamorphoses*, representing a tradition other than that contained by Laur. 68. 2. This suspicion has led me to examine all the MSS. of the *Apologia*

INTRODUCTION

and *Florida* of whose existence I am aware, with a view to ascertaining whether there is any trace of a tradition other than that transmitted by Laur. 68. 2.¹ The result has been entirely to confirm the theory of Keil. All the MSS. which I have been able to examine derive directly or indirectly from the Laurentianus. The numerous fourteenth and fifteenth century MSS. contribute nothing of real importance to the text, though, as must frequently result from the examination of Renaissance MSS., I have found that a number of corrections attributed to Renaissance and even later scholars were in reality made at an earlier date. Such corrections worthy of record as I have noted in these late MSS. will be found mentioned in the Apparatus Criticus of this text. As their number is not sufficient to make them a serious encumbrance to the Apparatus, it has seemed worth while to 'give the devil his due'. I have made no attempt to trace the stemmata of these late codices; such a research would be waste of labour.

Since Keil set scholars on the right path, three texts of the *Apologia* have appeared, equipped with an Apparatus Criticus. These are the texts of Krüger (Berlin, 1864), Van der Vliet (Teubner series, 1900), and Helm (Teubner, 1905). Krüger's text left room for further work, both as regards the collation of the chief MSS. and the correction of the text. But it is, on the whole, greatly superior to the text produced by Van der Vliet, which, though often clever and suggestive, is marred by the editor's passion for emendation. Helm's text is admirable alike for the fullness and accuracy of its Apparatus, and for the acumen and erudition of its editor. It will be found that the present text does not differ widely from that of Helm. There are, however, a certain number of passages where he seems to

¹ I had originally intended to examine the MSS. of the *Metamorphoses* as well. I found, however, that my friend, Mr. D. S. Robertson, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, was already engaged on this task, and we agreed to a division of labour. I gather that his conclusions point in the same direction as my own.

MSS. OF THE *APOLOGIA* AND *FLORIDA*

the present writer to have erred on the side of caution or to have misunderstood the author's meaning, and there are also a very few passages where there has seemed room for fresh emendation. It will be found also that some of the inconsistencies of the spelling of the Laurentianus have been removed. While some of the peculiarities may be due to Apuleius himself, many are such as are found in the MSS. of all authors. The orthography of the Laurentianus has been once and for all exhibited by Helm's text, and it seems needless to reproduce its peculiarities once again. So, too, in view of the accuracy of Helm's collation it has not seemed necessary to give as full an Apparatus. A selection has been given, and it is hoped that nothing of importance has been omitted.

I. Codex Laurentianus, plut. 68. 2 : known as *F*.

This MS. has a peculiar interest for scholars. Not only is it our sole authority for the *Apologia*, *Florida*, and *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius, but also for *Annals* xi-xvi, and the *Histories* of Tacitus.¹ The works are in the following order: ff. 1 v.-47 r., Tac. *Ann.* xi-xvi. 48 r.-103 v., Tac. *Hist.* 104 v.-125 v., *Lucii Apuleii de Magia*, libb. ii. 126 v.-184 r., *Metamorphoses* 184 v.-191 v., followed by the *Florida*. The MS. is written in the so-called Lombard hand, which is of the type associated with MSS. written at the monastery of Monte Cassino in the latter half of the eleventh century. It is generally supposed that the MS. was stolen by Boccaccio from the neglected library of Monte Cassino. It is, however, doubtful whether at this period the works of Apuleius were bound up with the Tacitus. There is at least evidence that at some period the three works of Apuleius preceded the Tacitus, while such mention as we find of this MS. during the Renaissance makes no mention of the presence of the works of Apuleius. In fact, the only mention of the presence of the works of Tacitus at Monte Cassino suggests that they

¹ See Rostagno, Preface to facsimile of the portion containing the *Histories* of Tacitus.

INTRODUCTION

were bound up with the poems of Homer. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that the portion of the MS. containing Apuleius came from the same source, for the hands are identical. Whether Boccaccio ever possessed this portion of the MS. or no, is uncertain. He was, at any rate, familiar with Apuleius before it came into his possession. For the *Decameron*, written between 1348 and 1356 (whereas Boccaccio was unacquainted with Tacitus in 1357), shows that he was already familiar with Apuleius, while cod. Laur. plut. 54. 32, which is written by Boccaccio's own hand, shows no direct knowledge of cod. 68. 2, though like other MSS. of Apuleius it does ultimately derive from that famous codex.

Cod. 68. 2 is written in a beautiful hand, but has suffered much from the ravages of time. The writing is in many places so rubbed as to be barely legible, while in many places a later hand has rewritten the damaged letters, not always correctly. Fortunately, however, we possess an early copy of *F* in cod. Laur. plut. 29. 2 (see below), which dates from a time when *F* was still comparatively intact. The *Apologia* has, however, suffered much less damage than those portions of *F* containing the *Florida* and the *Metamorphoses*.

The MS. goes back ultimately to a codex of the fourth century, as is shown by the subscription to the ninth book of the *Metamorphoses*: *Ego Sallustius legi et emendaui Romae felix Olibrio et Probino u. c. cons. (i. e. A. D. 395) in foro Martis controuersiam declamans oratori Endelechio. Rursus Constanti-nopoli recognoui Caesario et Attico cons. (i. e. A. D. 397)*. The nature of its corruptions shows it to have been copied from a MS. written like itself in Lombard script.

I have examined this MS. carefully, but have not collated it in its entirety. The extreme accuracy of Helm's collation, which I have checked throughout the *Apologia* and *Florida*, makes this unnecessary. He is almost impeccable save in a very few passages in the *Florida*, where the work of collation

MSS. OF THE *APOLOGIA* AND *FLORIDA*

is exceedingly difficult. The one criticism which I would make of his work, is that, perhaps unintentionally, he frequently in his *Apparatus Criticus* gives the impression that the original reading of *F* can be recovered by close inspection of the MS. in cases where it can, as a matter of fact, only be discovered by conjecture after comparison with cod. Laur. 29. 2. As he is, I think, usually right in his conjectures on these points, this criticism is of small importance. But in a very large number of cases the original reading is no longer visible to the eye even when assisted by a strong magnifying glass. Lütjohann and Beyte have done careful work in distinguishing the correcting hands in 68. 2 and 29. 2. As, however, there is not the slightest evidence that any of these corrections are due to knowledge of some independent MS. source, I have not distinguished the different correcting hands in the *Apparatus Criticus*, save by occasional indications, where the correction has been made by the first hand, or where the corrections are palpably late.

The general character of the MS. has been so thoroughly discussed by Helm in his introduction to the *Florida*, and I am so thoroughly in agreement with his conclusions, that to go into further detail would be a mere repetition of what has already been so admirably said by him, and would be irrelevant to the needs of this edition. Such points as require detailed discussion are dealt with in the commentary where they occur. It only remains to say that *F* provides an admirable basis for the text of the *Apologia*. It is a thoroughly honest MS., and, though there are many corruptions, the cases where the text cannot be restored with comparative certainty are not very numerous.

II. Cod. Laur. plut. 29. 2 : known as ϕ .

This MS., which like *F* is written in the so-called Lombard script, though of the twelfth century, has no independent value,

INTRODUCTION

as it is a palpable copy of *F*. But, as has already been said, it is a very early copy, made before *F* had been defaced by time. It is therefore at times of value in revealing the original reading of *F*, where the hand of the corrector or the wear of time has hidden it from our eyes. As in the case of *F*, I have merely checked previous collations. Helm does not profess to give a complete collation, and as a result a number of marginal variants are omitted in his *Apparatus Criticus*. These I have in most cases recorded. Also, in one or two cases where important marginal variants are recorded, he has failed to mention that they are in a very late (?) seventeenth-century hand. There is but one reading given by ϕ , which even for a moment suggests that its scribe had access to other MSS. than *F*. That is to be found in c. 24, where *F* reads *munere poplis concessimus*, but ϕ gives the correct reading *P. R.*, i. e. *populi Romani*. The correction is written (over an erasure) by the first hand. But even here it is so obviously necessary, that it need not have been beyond the capacity of a twelfth-century corrector.

III. The MSS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

A. MSS. in the Biblioteca Laurenziana at Florence.

(1) Plut. 54. 32 contains (a) *de Magia*, (b) *Metamorphoses*, (c) *Florida*. This MS. is in the hand of Boccaccio himself, and was once in the 'libreria parva di Santo Spirito' at Florence. As has already been said, it is not a copy of *F*, though it follows that MS. on the whole. It seems to be copied, as far as the *Apologia* is concerned, from some MS. which had been partly corrected from ϕ , or from some other MS. influenced by ϕ . It contains little or nothing of value. The Greek passages are omitted, though in the earlier passages a few attempts are made to copy the unfamiliar Greek letters. In the *Florida*, *F* is followed on the whole, but the text has been more strongly influenced by ϕ than in the *Apologia*. Sallustius is mentioned.

NOTE.—This MS. is very corrupt and unscholarly. There

can be little doubt, however, that it is written by Boccaccio (cp. Sabbadini, *Scoperte*, p. 29, n.), for the hand is identical with that of the signed autograph MS. of Terence in the Laurentian Library (plut. 38. 17). It is noteworthy that on the last page of the Terence Boccaccio cites two Greek epigrams with an inter-linear translation in Latin, but writes the Greek in Latin characters.

(2) Plut. 54. 12 contains (a) *de Deo Socratis*, (b) *Trismegistus Asclepius*, (c) *de Dogm. Platonis*, (d) *de Mundo*, (e) *de Asino Aureo*, (f) *de Magia*, (g) *Florida*. It concludes with the words 'Antonius Marius Florentinus transcripsit Florentiae XII Kld. Julii 1425'. It is exquisitely written and adorned with beautiful initial letters. It contains the usual reference to Sallustius in connexion with the *Metamorphoses*, while at the conclusion of that work are found the following words: '*Apulei Platonici Madaurensis Metamorphoseon liber ultimus explicit, quem transcripsi cum duobus incorruptissimis exemplaribus me inscio neque cogto (sic) correptus (sic) deinde et emendatus per me ipsum scriptorem cum optimo atque vetustissimo exemplari, 1425.*' The text of the *Metamorphoses*, as this postscript shows, is composite. This is not the case however with the *Florida* and *Apologia*. The *Apologia* presents a text that (with the exception of the Greek passages, which are not transcribed, vacant spaces being left where they occur) is a very faithful transcript of *F*. Indeed, it was probably copied from *F* itself, with which it agrees in almost every case as against ϕ , save that, unlike *F*, it has an inscription at the beginning (*Apuleii Platonici Madaurensis pro se apud Cl. Maximum procons. Africae oratio de magia incipit feliciter*). In the *Florida*, on the other hand, ϕ is followed all through as opposed to *F*. In fact it was probably actually copied from ϕ . Both in the *Apologia* and *Florida* there is evidence that it was copied from a MS. in the Lombard hand. E.g. *Apologia* (c. 75) xxx is given in Lombard letters, corruptions such as *me de te* for *medeae* (*Apol.* c. 78) seem to be

INTRODUCTION

due to the same cause. Similarly in the *Florida* (c. 15, p. 21, 11 H.) the corrupt *pittagora naianteo* of ϕ is given *pittagora naiocnteo*, the *a* or *oc* being a palpable imitation of the Lombard *a*. The scribe probably deserted *F* for ϕ in the *Florida* owing to the extreme illegibility of this portion of the MS. in *F*.

NOTE.—In two passages of the *Apologia* the scribe closely imitates the peculiarities of *F*: i. e. in c. 56 it reads *agnom*— $\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota$, the last four letters being clearly imitated from the corresponding letters in *F*, while in c. 67 it has the full gap between the words *mulieri* and *amanti* as given in *F*.

(3) Plut. 54. 13 contains (a) *de Deo Socratis*, (b) *Asclepius*, (c) *de Dogmate Platonis*, (d) *de Mundo*, (e) *Metamorphoses*, (f) *Apologia*, (g) *Florida*. This MS. is beautifully written in a fifteenth-century hand, perhaps a little later than that of the preceding MS. The Greek passages are omitted, and the whole MS. is very corrupt. There are many careless omissions and not a few gaps, the latter being due to the unintelligibility of the MS. which the copyist had before him. It is a near relative of plut. 54. 24 (see below), but not actually copied from it, and very inferior to it. Some of the gaps are accounted for by readings in 54. 24: e.g. *Flor.* c. 15, p. 22. 19 H., where the gap after *toto orbe* is explained by the reading *toto orbe hocustis* given by 54. 24 (the *oc* being a corruption of a Lombard *a*): again in *Flor.* c. 16, p. 27. 8 H. *exorauerit* has been corrupted to *sorauerit* in 54. 24, while 54. 13 gives *cor* followed by a gap. It is an even nearer relative of cod. Santa Croce, sin. 24. 11 (see below), and was perhaps copied from the same source. The text of the *Apologia* is composite, but inclining to ϕ . The text of the *Florida* is even worse than that of the *Apologia*, though it contains fewer emendations and follows ϕ more closely. There is no mention of Sallustius.

(4) Plut. 54. 24 contains (a) the *Metamorphoses*, (b) *Florida*, (c) a summary of the *Apologia*. It concludes with the words

MSS. OF THE *APOLOGIA* AND *FLORIDA*

'*explicit lib. 4 Floridorum Apulei Platonici. Completus die 26 Ian. 1422*'. At the beginning of the MS. is written in a latter hand '*dalla comunità di San Gimignano*'. The MS. contains many var. lectiones in the margin, and as a rule follows ϕ , though some of the marginal readings are derived from *F*. The text is fairly corrupt. Sallustius is mentioned.

(5) Santa Croce, sin. 24. 11, contains the *Metamorphoses* and a portion of the *Florida*, breaking off abruptly after *simili stilo* (c. 9, p. 13. 23 H.) with the words '*amen. non compleui quia corruptum exemplar nec intelligebam*'. In *F* after the word *stilo* occurs the note '*hic desinit cod. S. Crucis transcriptio a Fr. Thedaldo de Mucillo. Ord. Min.*' The note is said to be in the hand of del Furia, a former librarian of the Biblioteca Laurenziana (cp. V. der Vliet, App. Crit. *ad loc.*). The text of the *Florida* is composite, inclining to ϕ rather than *F*. Sallustius is mentioned.

B. MS. in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan.

Cod. N. 180, a MS. of the fourteenth century, contains (a) *Apologia*, (b) *Metamorphoses*, (c) *Florida*. There are two hands. The second, which is very superior to the first, begins at f. 30. Both in the *Florida* and *Apologia* this MS. follows *F* fairly closely, though there are traces of the influence of ϕ . The text is, on the whole, good, though it has no independent value. An attempt has been made to copy the first few passages of Greek in the *Apologia*. The *Florida* are treated as portions of the *Metamorphoses* (i. e. *Flor.* ii = *Met.* xii). This MS. has some affinities with cod. Laur. 54. 32, but is very superior to that MS. Sallustius is mentioned.

C. MSS. in the Vatican Library.

(1) Cod. Vat. 2193 contains (a) *de Deo Socratis*, (b) *Asclepius*, (c) *de Doctrina Platonis*, (d) *de Mundo*, (e) *Florida*, (f) *de Magia*, (g) *Metamorphoses*. These works of Apuleius are followed by Cicero, *pro Marcello*; Frontinus, *Strategemata*; Vegetius, *de Re Militari*; Palladius, *de Agricultura*; and Cicero, *pro Ligario*. For this MS. see *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, De Nolhac, ii, p. 99 sqq.,

INTRODUCTION

and Monsignor Marco Vattasso's *Codici Petrarcheschi della Bibl. Vaticana* under heading *Codici postillati del Petrarca* (Studii e Testi, 20). This is a very beautiful MS., dated by M. de Nohac as not later than 1348. It belonged to Petrarch, and contains many marginal notes from his own hand, while the two speeches of Cicero which it contains are also in the poet's handwriting. It follows ϕ on the whole in the *Apologia*, and very closely in the *Florida*. It has no independent value, and is remarkable only for the fact (to which my friend Mr. D. S. Robertson, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, called my attention) that in the margin of *Apol.* c. 95 the scribe has written the following words: '*nec auctoritatem Crassus nec efficaciam Antonius nec simplicitatem Menenius nec acrimoniam Appius nec leporem ac facetiam Augustus.*' It gives no indication as to the exact point at which these words should be inserted (see note *ad loc.*). The same passage is given in Vat. Ottob. 2091 and in cod. Nap. IV. G. 55. See below. Sallustius is mentioned.

(2) Cod. Vat. 3384 contains (a) *Apologia*, (b) *Metamorphoses*, (c) *Florida*, and in an entirely different hand (d) *de Dogmate Platonis*, (e) *de Mundo*. This MS., like the last, dates from the fourteenth century, and once belonged to Benvenuto Rambaldo d'Imola of Bologna, a famous commentator on Dante, who died 1391: later it belonged to Fulvio Orsini, and is described by de Nohac in *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, p. 192. On the top of the first fly-sheet are the words '*Liber Benvenuti Imolensis*' in a fourteenth-century hand. On the same sheet is a later inscription, '*Apuleio tocco di mano di Benvenuto da Imola. Ful. Urs.*' Mr. D. S. Robertson informs me that Monsignore Vattasso ascribes this inscription to the early seventeenth century. Van der Vliet appears to have misread the words 'Ful. Urs.' as 'Jul. 1553'. This is a MS. of the same class as Ambr. N. 180 and Laur. 54. 32, and follows *F*, on the whole, both in the *Apologia* and in the *Florida*.

MSS. OF THE *APOLOGIA* AND *FLORIDA*

The Greek passages are given up to c. 38 of the *Apologia*. Sallustius is mentioned.

(3) Cod. Urbin. 199 contains (a) *Metamorphoses*, (b) *Apologia*, (c) *de Mundo*, (d) *de Dogmate Platonis*, (e) *de Deo Socratis*, (f) *Hermes Trismegistus*, (g) *Apologia*. This is a very late and very beautiful MS., with the arms of Frederick, Duke of Urbino, on the front page. The form of the coat of arms shows the date to be not earlier than 1474. Frederick died in 1482. The MS. is therefore later than the *ed. princeps*. The text of the *Apologia* is much interpolated. The Greek passages are omitted, but Latin translations of the epigrams of Plato are given as in cod. Dorvillianus (see below) with the same additions. The text of the *Florida* is little altered, and follows ϕ fairly closely. Sallustius is not mentioned.

(4) Cod. Vat. Ottob. 2047 contains (a) the Declamations of Quintilian, (b) *Apologia* (breaking off at the word *bestias* in c. 72), (c) *Metamorphoses* (from *periculi confinio* in iv. 10), (d) *Florida*, (e) Valerius Maximus, (f) Macrobius in *Saturnalibus* (imperfect). This MS. dates from the latter portion of the fourteenth century. It might be possible to fix its date within narrower limits by a foot-note, by the first hand, at the end of Valerius Maximus '*correctus ad exemplar Valerii domini Ostiensis*'. There is also a late inscription '*ex codicibus Ioannis Angeli Ducis ab Altaemps*'. Both in the *Apologia* and in the *Florida* it follows ϕ closely. In the *Apologia* the Greek passages are given. Sallustius is mentioned.

(5) Cod. Vat. Ottob. 2091 contains (a) *Florida*, (b) fragments of the *Apologia* as follows: cc. 1-5 *suscensentem*; c. 17 *at tu me scis*—c. 21 *indigeant*; c. 24 *de patria*—c. 25 *strepitu uiget*; c. 22 *Socrates inquam . . . togam palmatam*; (c) *Metamorphoses* down to xi. 28 *antistabant*; (d) Lives of the Popes down to John XXII, followed by miscellaneous ecclesiastical information; (e) Lives of the Emperors from Augustus to Henry VI, followed by miscellaneous historical information. The last date men-

INTRODUCTION

tioned in the second portion of the MS. is 1309, and the life of John XXII ends with a prayer for his prosperity: a MS. note states that the date must be 1316. It is not certain whether this portion of the MS. is in the same hand as that containing the Apuleius, but the date of the Apuleius is in any case early fourteenth century. In the margin of the *Florida* are written in a later fourteenth-century hand fragments of the *Apologia* as follows: c. 9 *num ergo Solonem . . . non pigere*; c. 9 *et Critias . . .* c. 10 *compositum*; c. 95 *quamcunque orationem . . . commutatum*, followed by *nec auctoritatem . . . Augustus*, as in Vat. 2193 (q.v.) from which the passage is copied; c. 63 *hicine est scelestus . . . est laruatus*. Owing to loss of two sheets in the middle *Met.* iv. 11 *sublimis animi . . .* vii. 26 *mitiorem efficere* is missing, as is also a page at the end from the middle of the word *plurimum* (xi. 28) to the conclusion. This MS. follows ϕ in the *Florida* and *Apologia*. On the first page are the words '*V. Giselini ex dono D. Eribontii*', and on the paper fly-leaf '*sum Gerardi Vossii. anno MDCXXXX*'. Van der Vliet (*Mnemos*, 1895, p. 180) pointed out that this MS. is the 'Lipsianus' of older editors. Sallustius is mentioned at the end of *Met.* ii and iii. This MS. is the original of cod. Nap. IV. G. 55 (q. v.).

D. MSS. in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Naples.

(1) Cod. IV. D. 11 contains (a) *Metamorphoses*, (b) *Florida*, which are treated as part of the *Metamorphoses*, though a later hand has corrected the error. The *Metamorphoses* are divided into ten books. The first book of the *Florida* is treated as the tenth book of the *Metamorphoses* and so on. The MS. dates from the fourteenth century and is very corrupt. In the *Florida* it follows *F*. Sallustius is mentioned. At the end of the MS are the words '*Antonii Seripandi ex Iani Parrhasii testamento*'.

(2) Cod. IV. D. 12 contains (a) *Metamorphoses*, (b) *Florida* (in another hand) down to c. 7 *perfacile est*. This MS. is of the fourteenth century and as regards the *Florida* is clearly derived from the same source as the previous MS., though not copied

MSS. OF THE *APOLOGIA* AND *FLORIDA*

from it. There is no mention of Sallustius. On the first page are the words '*Alexandri bonigniae sum*'.

(3) Cod. IV. G. 55 contains (a) *de Deo Socratis*, (b) *de Dogmate Platonis*, (c) *de Mundo*, (d) *Florida*, (e) fragments of the *Apologia*, as in Vat. Ottob. 2091 (q. v.), with the exception that it omits the fragment from c. 22 *Socrates inquam . . . togam palmatam*, while a late (?) seventeenth-century hand continues correctly after *streptu uiget* (c. 25) down to c. 27 *obiectantur*, omitting the Greek save for $\Omega\nu . . . \theta\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\iota\alpha$ in c. 25; (f) *Metamorphoses*; (g) *de inventoribus septem artium* (in a fifteenth-century hand). After the *de Mundo* occur the fragments of the *Apologia*, given in the margin of the *Florida* in Vat. Ottob. 2091. At the end of the *Metamorphoses* is the note '*Ego frater Ambrosius de Xona ordinis servorum S. Mariae XVII mensis Madii 1396 scripsi feliciter et expleui me recommendans Patri et domino meo pro quo ff et laborem sumsi hoc opusculum Apuleii*'. Sallustius is mentioned at end of *Met.* ii and iii, as in Vat. Ottob. 2091. The philosophical works are in another hand, and of earlier date, as is shown by subscriptions to *de D. Socr.* and *de Mundo*.

There is also a MS. containing (a) *Metamorphoses*, (b) *Florida*, (c) *Apologia*, (d) *de Deo Socratis*, (e) *de Philosophia*, (f) *de Mundo*, (g) Asclepius in the Biblioteca Oratoriana at Naples (No. 4, Mandarinini's Catalogue, p. 22). Mandarinini assigns this MS. to the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century. I was not aware of the existence of this MS. when I examined the MSS. of the Biblioteca Nazionale. Mr. G. L. Cheesman has, however, examined selected passages for me, and from the readings which he reports, I conclude that the MS. is (as might be expected in view of its lateness) of no value.

E. MSS. in the Biblioteca Marciana at Venice.

(1) Cod. Lat. Z. 469 contains (a) a Latin translation of the *Timaeus* by Chalcidius, with a commentary by the same author; (b) twelve chapters of the first book of Cicero's *de Natura*

INTRODUCTION

Deorum; (c) the *Apologia* of Apuleius; (d) Macrobius. The text of the *Apologia* is composite, though inclining to *F*. Though the text contains many of the usual corruptions, it contains a very large number of the emendations which appear in the early printed texts of the *Apologia*, and of which there is often no further trace till the close of the fifteenth century. The Greek passages are omitted. This MS., which is written in an exquisite hand, dates from the close of the fourteenth century. Sallustius is not mentioned, and the division into two books is only noted by a later hand, though the break is marked by an initial letter. At the end are the words '*Antonius de Romagno de Feltró*'. Signor C. Foligno, Reader of Italian at Oxford University, informs me that 'Antonio Romagno was born about 1375 and died very young. There is no news of him after 1406 or 1407.'

(2) Cod. Lat. 14. 34 contains *Metamorphoses* and *Florida*. The catalogue and a MS. note on the fly-leaf falsely state that the *Florida* in this MS. contain a passage not found elsewhere. This is untrue. The text is of the normal composite type, and contains nothing of note save that in 8, p. 10. 1 H. it reads *genere et ex nobilibus pauci consulares et ex his consularibus*. At the end are the words: '*Codex optimus. Donum Comitís Iac. Zabarellae. Oct. Ferrario bibl. praeffecto. Anno MDCXLVI*.' The MS. was once in the library of Padua. There is no mention of Sallustius. At the end of the *Metamorphoses* is the date, *May 6, 1409*.

F. MS. in the Municipal Library of S. Daniele in Friuli.

Cod. 91 (Mazzatinti) contains the *Apologia*, followed by the *de Legibus*, *pro Sextio Roscio*, and *de Lege Agraria* of Cicero. This MS. is written in a beautiful fifteenth-century hand. The text, composite though inclining to ϕ , is exceptionally bad. There is no mention of Sallustius. At the end of the *Metamorphoses* is the date, *May 6, 1409*.

G. MS. in the Municipal Library of Toulouse.

Cod. 827 contains the *Apologia*. It also contains among

MSS. OF THE *APOLOGIA* AND *FLORIDA*

other works St. Jerome's life of St. Paul the Hermit (dated 1468) and a Latin translation of the letters of Phalaris (dated 1467). All are in the same hand. The text of the *Apologia* is exceptionally corrupt and full of fifteenth-century emendations. It inclines to *F* rather than ϕ . The text has some affinity with cod. Urb. 199. The Greek passages are omitted. There is no mention of Sallustius.

H. MS. in the Library of the University of Leyden.

Cod. Leyd. Oudendorp. 34, known as the Dorvillianus, contains the *Metamorphoses* and *Apologia*. It is a late MS., perhaps in spite of appearances as late as 1470.¹ In the *Apologia* it follows *F* fairly closely, but contains a number of fifteenth-century emendations. The first portion is fairly accurate, the latter carelessly written, while there are many omissions: e. g. c. 65 *de nomine . . . audi igitur*; c. 73 to *persuaserat idem*; c. 75 *scripserint* to end; c. 78 to *sed ne longius ab ordine*; c. 88 *congruit . . . 102 respondete*. A later hand has added the Latin translations of the epigrams of Plato (cp. Urb. 199). Sallustius is mentioned.

I. MS. in the Library of Eton College.

Cod. 147 contains the *Metamorphoses* and *Florida*, in both of which it is a fairly close follower of *F*. It dates from the fifteenth century. The writing, especially in the *Florida*, is so much worn as often to be illegible. There are beautiful pen-and-ink illustrations at the foot of the page. Sallustius is not mentioned.

K. MSS. in the British Museum.

(1) Additional MS. 24893. This MS. is written on parchment and dates from the close of the fourteenth century. It contains (a) *Apologia*, (b) *Metamorphoses*, (c) *Florida* (written

¹ This statement is based on a communication from Dr. M. R. James, Provost of King's College, Cambridge, to Mr. D. S. Robertson. Dr. James thinks the scribe to have been a Fleming who learned his writing in Italy.

INTRODUCTION

continuously with the *Metamorphoses* as twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth books). A later hand has complicated the error by treating *Apologia*, *Metamorphoses*, and *Florida* as one work, and renumbering continuously, though erratically, i. e. *Met.* i = iii, ii and iii = iv, iv = v, xi and *Flor.* i = xii, etc. This MS. is of the same class as the Ambrosian MS. and Laur. 54. 32, and perhaps better than either, though of no value for the constitution of the text.

(2) Sloan 2586. This MS. contains (a) *Apologia*, (b) *Florida*, (c) *de Deo Socratis*, (d) *de Philosophia*. It dates from the sixteenth century, and is, as might be expected, of no value. It does not give the Greek passages, but contains the Latin translations of the epigrams of Plato and of the line quoted from Crates.

L. MS. in the Library of Wolfenbüttel.

Cod. 2069-71. This MS. contains all the works of Apuleius. It is a compilation by Theodore de Juges, dating from the sixteenth century, and was made with a view to publication. It contains notes drawn from many printed commentaries. I have not examined it.

NOTE.—Though I have personally examined all these MSS., I am indebted in a number of cases to Mr. D. S. Robertson for details as to date, subscriptions, etc.

H. E. B.

IV. THE STYLE OF THE *APOLOGY*

The consideration of the style of Apuleius would be more appropriately associated with any of his writings than with the *Apologia*, and the editors hope to have a later opportunity of treating it with greater fullness. For here there is a sobriety and sanity which are, on the whole, absent from his other writings. What we mean by Apuleian, 'his rococo, very

THE STYLE OF THE *APOLOGY*

African, and, as it were, perfumed personality,'¹ is much more evident in the *Florida* and the *Metamorphoses*. If, as is probable for other reasons, the *Apology* is his earliest extant work, Apuleius is to be added to the number of those who only developed the chief characteristics of their style after producing work which conformed much more closely with earlier and more classical models.

On the general question of an African dialect and style it is scarcely necessary to write exhaustively. The *tumor Africanus* was a fond conceit of Renaissance scholarship, and it has been given little mercy by Norden.² That words and idioms might survive in the African province that were obsolete elsewhere is not to be disputed, but there is little to suggest that the Latin of Carthage or Cirta or Hippo was affected by Punic idiom, or that a tendency to exaggeration and prolixity was the result of the contemplation of the vast expanses of the desert or nature generally in her sterner moods. Monceaux has made the attempt to trace Semitic influence, but in a manner that is not very convincing.³ Thus he points out that the ablative is used for an adverb because Semitic languages have no adverbs, but that the adverb is used with the positive because in Semitic languages there is no superlative, and yet again the frequency of the superlative is pressed to show the exaggeration of African style. Thus the frequent use of grammatical forms which the Semitic languages do not possess is pressed to show the indebtedness of African Latin to Semitic influence. But if there was this individual character about African literature, it is strange that there was no such individuality about African art,⁴ and in this we see the real weakness of the case for 'Africitas', for in art

¹ Pater, *Marius the Epicurean*, c. xx.

² See Norden, pp. 588-98. The evidence against a distinctive 'Africitas' has been excellently arrayed by Miss M. D. Brock in *Studies in Fronto and his Age*, Cambridge University Press, 1911.

³ Monceaux, p. 111; Brock, *lib. cit.*, p. 197.

⁴ Graham, *Roman Africa*, p. 302.

we have contemporary work with which we can compare what comes from Africa, but in literature we have practically nothing contemporary. That certain features of the style and vocabulary of Apuleius are shared by Arnobius, Tertullian, and Cyprian, is evidence of the strong influence that the Apuleian type of rhetoric had on their writings rather than of the existence of an Africanism common to them.¹ In the *elocutio novella* of the African writers we have certain evidence of the origin of Romance idioms, but no Romance language exists in Africa for us to see whether these tendencies were commoner there than in France and Italy, Spain and Portugal, the Grisons and Roumania. Prof. E. W. Watson, in his dissertation on the style and language of Cyprian, says: 'Though it is certain that provincial peculiarities existed, and certain also that many of them have been detected, yet the unconscious degeneration of grammar and the conscious efforts after rotundity of expression were common to the whole empire.'²

Would Apuleius have railed at his stepson for talking nothing but Punic,³ if he were conscious that his own style was open to the charge of being tinged by Punic idiom? If there was anything distinctive in African style, it was much more due to the retention of certain words in Africa that had gone out of use in Italy. It has been observed that the longer a province had been occupied by Rome the less changed was the Latin from the speech of the ante-classical Roman.⁴ So in

¹ St. Augustine admitted that Apuleius was the most popular of African writers. Graham, *lib. cit.*, p. 140.

² Watson, *The Style and Language of St. Cyprian*, p. 241. Purser, *Cupid and Psyche*, p. lxxxiv, remarks that the 'African' qualities are just as conspicuous in Favorinus, a Gaul who lived in Asia Minor. Dubois, *La Latinité d'Ennodius*, p. 12 (quoted by Miss Brock, p. 229), finds in Ennodius, another Gaul, the 'so-called African tendency to abuse all the resources and exaggerate the usages of classical Latin'.

³ *Apol. 98 loquitur nunquam nisi Punice.*

⁴ Cooper, *Word-formation in the Sermo plebeius*, p. xxvii, says that there was a regular grade in accordance with the date of conquest, Italian being furthest removed from classical Latin. Wölfflin (*Arch. f. Lat. Lex.* vii. 470), 'Mit den Soldaten, Verwaltungsbeamten und Kauf-

THE STYLE OF THE *APOLOGY*

America Chaucerian words have survived in ordinary speech, and the word 'fleet', as used by Shakespeare in *As You Like It*, Act I, Sc. 1, is still used by the inhabitants of the island of Nantucket (Mass., U.S.A.).¹ But the African cities retained a very close connexion with Rome, and Apuleius probably learnt more of his Latin style in Rome than in Africa.

We have to recognize then that on the whole it is the literary dialect of a century rather than of a province that we are dealing with, that what we call the *tumor Africanus* is really the Asiatic oratory² that the 'New Sophistic' had popularized, and that Apuleius has done more to create a mode of expression for Africa than Africa has done to impose a style on Apuleius.³

But, instead of accusing Apuleius of adopting a peculiarly African style, some critics imagine that his language is replete with vulgarisms. It is always difficult to assign accurately the source of the non-classical part of a late author's vocabulary. In Latin it is especially difficult because by classical Latin we mean such a remarkably restricted range of authors. A good Latin word used by many authors will be described as ante- and post-classical; a word which has an almost chance existence once or twice in the pages of Cicero and Caesar will be described as classical, but rare. But we need not suppose that words which scarcely appear in the literary tradition were derived from the *argot* of the streets; nor need we fall into the opposite error of supposing that every word which we do not find between the comedians of the Roman Republic and the second century A. D. was a conscious archaism. Apuleius was

leuten kam im J. 146 das plautinisch-catonische Latein nach dem überseeischen Lande und hielt sich da im wesentlichen unverändert.⁷

¹ Cooper, *loc. cit.*

² The editors hope to deal at greater length with this influence in a subsequent work upon the *Florida*.

³ Some idioms which are claimed as distinctively examples of African exuberance are to be found in the most classical writers, e. g. Cicero and, still more, Caesar affect the repetition of the antecedent in such sentences as *Apol. 24 colonia . . . in qua colonia*.

INTRODUCTION

contemporary with an age which had given a distinct impetus to archaistic tendencies: his great contemporary, Fronto, had headed a pre-Ciceronian movement, which looked askance at Vergil and hardly regarded Horace. Apuleius was much more catholic in his literary sympathies: the *Apology* contains distinct reminiscences of Vergil and Horace, and even Cicero¹: he is no 'Frontonist'. But we may well believe that many of the words and phrases which he shares with Plautus and Terence were used in ordinary conversation and that their absence from extant literature is largely accidental. Some commentators² have imagined that he raked in the dramatists for all the words of abuse that come in his pages.³ But to pour out the vials of literary reminiscence on the head of one whom he accused of being an illiterate boor before an audience whom he upbraided with their ignorance would be a somewhat ineffective proceeding on Apuleius' part, and a somewhat strained compliment to the literary taste of Claudius Maximus. Aemilianus might well be unmoved at abuse which would be as out of date as to call a man at the present day 'a zed', 'an unnecessary letter', or 'a vile, standing tuck'. The phrases are such as might well have been kept alive without being consciously borrowed from pre-Ciceronian authority. If we hear a man say 'odds frogs and tambours' we are certain that he has borrowed from *The Rivals*, but we do not feel that a use of the objurgations loved by Squire Western is evidence that he who uses them has read *Tom Jones*. But it is difficult to say of many words whether they have survived in conversation, been picked out by design from the old dramatists, or been common to colloquial and literary Latin. But that Apuleius would

¹ See Helm, Preface to the *Florida*, pp. xxii-xxviii, for illustrations of parallels to Cicero, besides others to which attention is called in our notes.

² e.g. Desertine.

³ e.g. *aquariolus*, *capularis*, *degulator*, *frutex*, *gerulus*, *gulo*, *gumia*, *lurco*, *uulpio*. Of these *degulator*, *gulo*, and *uulpio* are not found before Apuleius.

THE STYLE OF THE *APOLOGY*

consciously use vulgar as opposed to literary Latin is not to be thought of in the case of one who can say¹: *quis enim uestrum mihi unum soloecismum ignouerit? quis uel unam syllabam barbare pronuntiatam*² *donauerit? quis incondita et uitiosa uerba temere quasi delirantibus oborientia permiserit blaterare?*

The style then of Apuleius, as of other African writers, is not distinctively African, though words may have been in vogue in each province that had lost currency in the capital³; he is not a conscientious archaist, like Fronto, but is fond of putting old words in his writings, though he is equally capable of inventing new ones⁴; he is ready to draw on prose and poetry alike for his vocabulary and, though his words of abuse must have been such as his audience and victims could appreciate, he does not fill his language with conscious vulgarism.

There was no poetry in the second century. Poetry had played so large a part in the education of the Roman boy that it had won a Pyrrhic victory and had itself been absorbed in the territory it had conquered. Prose was poetical where it was not rhetorical, and Africa was *nutricula causidicorum* even before the time of Apuleius.⁵ So we find Apuleius the creator of a style which eschewed no influence of the present or the past that could give it attractiveness. Pater⁶ describes the style as 'full of the archaisms and curious felicities in which that generation delighted, quaint terms and images picked from the early dramatists, the life-like phrases of some lost poet preserved by an old grammarian, racy morsels of the vernacular and studied prettinesses'.

¹ *Flor.* 9.

² He prides himself on not even having an African accent, unlike the Emperor Septimius Severus, of whom Spartianus says (*Sever.* xix. 9) *canorus uoce, sed Afrum quiddam usque ad senectutem sonans.*

³ Apuleius is fond of *prosapia*, which Quintilian (*viii.* 3. 26) labels as *insulsum*.

⁴ The coinage of new words is especially due to a desire to secure exact balance; cp. *Met.* iv. 8. where *aggeratim* and *agminatim* seem invented to balance *acernatim*; also xi. 9 init.

⁵ *Juv.* vii. 148.

⁶ *Marius the Epicurean*, c. v.

INTRODUCTION

We may now consider the features of the style as they present themselves in the pages of this speech, remembering that his 'foppery of diction' will be found more notable in his other works. But even in the *Apology* the illustrations given below are only samples and not an exhaustive catalogue.

I. *Balance and symmetry* are constantly in view. We have (a) clauses which are balanced word for word, e.g. c. 14 *nisi forte quod artificio elaboratum laudabile habetur, hoc natura oblatum culpabile iudicandum est* (here *culpabile* makes its first appearance in literature, possibly to balance *laudabile*). c. 18 *habitu securo, cultu simplex, consilio benesuada, neminem umquam superbia inflavit, neminem impotentia deprauavit, neminem tyrannide efferauit*. (The whole of this passage, a 'commonplace' on poverty, is full of illustrations of this artificial parallelism.) c. 64 *quidquid umbrarum est usquam, quidquid lenurum, quidquid manium, quidquid larvarum, oculis tuis oggerat, omnia noctium occursacula, omnia bustorum formidamina, omnia sepulcrorum terribulamenta* (see also the end of this chapter). Further examples may be found in cc. 1, 3, 11, 15, 23, 25, 30, 41, 66, 72, 74, 81, 85, etc.

(b) Sometimes the balance is forced, the parallelism being in the grammatical form and not the meaning. E.g. c. 47 *noctibus uigilata et tenebris abstrusa et arbitris solitaria et carminibus murmurata*, where the case-relation to the participle is different in all four instances. c. 54 *aut remedio acceptum aut sacro traditum aut somnio imperatum*. c. 75 *ianua calcibus propulsata, fenestrae canticis circumstrepitae, triclinium commissatoribus inquietum, cubiculum adulteris peruium*. Cp. also in c. 29 *maiefticio . . . pretio*. c. 37 *de principio . . . de piscibus*. c. 78 *mollitia animi . . . formido ferri*.

(c) *Homoeoteleuton*. This is much more pronounced in the other writings of Apuleius: cp. *Flor.* 1 and *Met.* xi. 25. Examples in the *Apology* are c. 44 *inuertisset . . . conspuisset . . . contraxisset . . . succussisset . . . corruisset*. c. 53 *adseruabam . . .*

THE STYLE OF THE *APOLOGY*

exponebam . . . commendabam . . . permittebam : also the passage in c. 18 quoted under (a).

(d) Apuleius is fond of *lists* sometimes for the sake of balance, and sometimes to impress his audience by the extent of his learning. E.g. c. 30 *ille enim quantum scio enumerat uittas mollis et uerbenas pinguis et tura mascula et licia discolora, praeterea laurum fragilem, limum durabilem, ceram liquabilem*. c. 4 *omnem gratiam corpore deterget, habitudinem tenuat, sucum exsorbet, colorem obliterat, uigorem debilitat*. For others see cc. 13, 22, 24, 25, 32, 34, 35, 59, 85, 92. In these and many other examples the same order is retained through the parallel expressions.

But sometimes (e) the enumeration is wholly or partially *chiastic* : e.g. c. 25 *scelera immania et inconcessa maleficia et artis nefandas*. c. 30 *Theocriti paria et alia Homeri et Orphei plurima*. c. 31 *Mercurius carminum uector et illex animi Venus et Luna noctium conscia et manium potens Triuia*. c. 83 *patent artes tuae, fraudes hiant, detectum mendacium est*. In certain cases it is only the last member of the list that has its order rearranged : c. 14 *et luto uigor et saxo color et picturae rigor et motus omnibus*. c. 22 *quod regibus diadema, quod imperatoribus paludamentum, quod pontificibus galerum, quod lituus auguribus*. And a few lines below *lustrator orbis, purgator ferarum, gentium domitor*. c. 88 *inter suboles herbarum et propagines uitium et arborum germina*. c. 98 *ipse domi tuae rector, ipse familiae dominus, ipse magister conuiuio*.

(f) Apuleius shares the Elizabethans' love of the *triplet*, three parallel expressions applied to the same thing. c. 7 *os . . . animi uestibulum et orationis ianua et cogitationum comitium*. c. 25 *rite nosse atque scire atque callere leges caerimoniarum, fas sacrorum, ius religionum*. c. 55 *multitiuga sacra et plurimos ritus et uarias caerimonias*. c. 67 *tam falsa, tam nihili, tam inania*. c. 93 *ego uero quietis et concordiae et pietatis auctor, conciliator, fauisor*. He is also fond of giving three parallel illustrations

INTRODUCTION

of a principle: c. 26 *sicarium qui in iudicium uocat, comitatus uenit: qui uenenarium accusat, scrupulosius cibatur: qui furem arguit, sua custodit.* c. 32 *qui myoparonem quaesierit pirata erit et qui uectem perfossor et qui gladium sicarius.*

II. *Diffuseness and redundancy* are specially characteristic of the style of Apuleius, as in fact of Asiatic oratory generally. More than half of Koziol's book on the style of Apuleius is devoted to the consideration of the varieties of this feature. Of the different forms of it we may particularize the following:

(a) The coupling of synonyms: this is extraordinarily frequent. Cp. with nouns c. 1 *copia et facultas.* c. 8 *maledictis et calumniis.* c. 81 *carcere et robore*; with adjectives c. 3 *pudens et uerecundi.* c. 7 *propatulo et conspicuo.* c. 76 *falsum et imaginarium . . . securae et intrepidae*; with verbs c. 28 *conuincam ac refutabo.* c. 46 *postulo et flagito*; with adverbs c. 62 *palam atque aperte.* c. 100 *grauiter et acerbe.*

(b) Adverbs or ablatives are used which simply repeat the meaning of the verb; e.g. c. 7 *deorsum ad pedes deiectum.* c. 15 *contrauersim respondeant.* c. 16 *recondat penitus, foras exserat.* c. 35 *foras euoluuntur.* And again c. 1 *crebris flagitionibus prouocauit.* c. 10 *igni deussit.* c. 42 *praesagio praedixisse.* c. 68 *frustrationibus eludit.* c. 79 *animo putauit.* c. 98 *magna fugela fugit.* (Cp. the use of *numero* with numbers and words like *tot*, cc. 40, 47, etc.)

(c) Otiose adjectives or genitives are used. Cp. c. 17 *mutuarias operas cum uicinis tuis cambies*, where the adjective has added practically nothing to the meaning of the verb. c. 6 *tenuem puluisculum.* c. 101 *exiguum herediolum*, where the adjective only reiterates the force of the diminutive termination, and c. 6 *labes sordium*, where the genitive is synonymous with the noun on which it depends (see Brock, pp. 212-13).

(d) Doubling of adverbs and conjunctions in asyndeton. c. 32 *ergo propterea.* cc. 44 and 101 *hic ibidem.* c. 37 *tum*

THE STYLE OF THE *APOLOGY*

in eo tempore. c. 73 *tunc deinde.* c. 70 *tandem aliquando* (a Ciceronian use).

(e) A love of employing long words instead of short, which sometimes leads to the introduction of words which apparently are coined. c. 50 *omnimodis maculationibus conuariat.* c. 75 *omnimodis collurchinationibus dilapidauit.* Apuleius would have sympathized with Osric in *Hamlet*.

(f) Descriptive periphrases, which Apuleius affects especially for the names of people. He uses them in three ways. (1) With the person's name, to give information to his audience: c. 37 *Sophocles poeta Euripidi aemulus et superstes.* (2) To avoid the repetition of the name (somewhat in the manner affected by modern journalists): c. 15 *Demosthenen uero . . . ille summus orator.* (3) Taking the place of the name entirely. Thus in cc. 7 and 32 Homer is *poeta praecipuus* (as in *Flor.* 2 he is *poeta egregius* and in *Met.* ix. 13 *priscae poeticae diuinus auctor*). So Vergil in c. 10 is *Mantuanus poeta*, in c. 9 Sappho is *mulier Lesbica*, and in the same chapter Anacreon, Alcman, and Simonides are *Teius quidam et Lacedaemonius et Cius*. In the *Metamorphoses* the periphrases are usually for mythological personages: e.g. Paris in iv. 30 is *pastor ille, cuius iustitiam fidemque magnus comprobauit Iuppiter.* Ganymede in vi. 15 is *pocillatorem Frygium*; in vi. 24 *pocillator ille rusticus puer.* But Socrates is also called (x. 33) *diuinae prudentiae senex, quem sapientia praetulit cunctis mortalibus deus Delphicus.*

(g) Rhetorical repetition of the same word, a feature which he shares with all Roman orators. c. 17 *nescis . . . nescis.* c. 70 *nescisti . . . nescisti.* c. 87 *neget* (repeated four times). c. 102 *negant* (repeated three times). c. 93 *suasi . . . suasi, inquam.* c. 100 *aperi . . . aperi.* c. 103 *reum* (three times).

(h) Redundant pronouns. See note on *eam*, c. 2.

(i) There is a tendency on the part of Van der Vliet and some other editors to bracket apparently redundant clauses, but redundancy is so much a part of Apuleius' style that it is

INTRODUCTION

probable the phrases were part of the original text : e. g. c. 68 *cum quo iubebatur* [*cum Sicinio Claro* : seclus. Brantius]. c. 29 *ad quod solent* [*ad piscem capiundum* : seclus. Sriverius], on which see note in commentary.

III. Apuleius has an extraordinary love of variety, which shows itself not only in variation of form, but in the use of different constructions with the same verb, and variation of vocabulary, very often in the same chapter or even the same sentence. Thus in c. 15 he has an almost morbid dislike for repeating the same word for to 'think', and has *ut Plato arbitratur . . . ut Archytas putat . . . ut Stoici rentur*. In c. 44 *exhiberi denuntiastis* is followed by *denuntiauit ut exhiberemus* (c. 63 *ut exhiberem non denuntiastis*?). In cc. 16 and 51 *miror* is used with *si*, in cc. 40, 71, and 88 it is used with *quod*. Other examples of variety are *praesertim cum* (c. 36), *praesertim quod* (c. 40); *quantum scio* (c. 30), *quantum sciam* (c. 40), and *quod sciam* (c. 38); *me prae ceteris maluisse* (c. 71), *me aliis omnibus mallet* (c. 73); *si ullum lucrum cogitarem* (c. 66), *si quem auarum uirum nacta esset* (c. 71); *comitali morbo adtemptatur* (c. 50), *ex crapula helluo adtemptatur* (c. 59). So, too, we find almost side by side *potius* and *magis* in c. 15 without any apparent difference of meaning : in c. 75 *nec mentior* and *non mentior* are both used parenthetically ; in c. 101 *praesens est* is immediately followed by *adest* ; while *fabricatum* and *fabricatam* used passively in cc. 62, 63 are followed in the latter chapter by *fabricatus est* as a deponent.

IV. Alliteration and assonance appear in many forms :

(a) The ordinary initial alliteration is constant. This is commonest with the letter *p* : e. g. in c. 8 *ut bono potui poculum, praelauitur* ; c. 29 *et pomum et panem pretio mutauit* ; c. 74 *pari pertinacia prohibitum*, and many more. Next in frequency is *c* : e. g. in c. 12 *corpora commendet, a contumelia* etc. ; c. 44 *cuius caput contingat* ; c. 63 *in capite crispatus capillus*. Other alliterations are with *m* as c. 51 *magi et malefici hominis esse*

THE STYLE OF THE *APOLOGY*

morbis mederi; with *f* as c. 31 *fortasse per famam peruulgatam fides fuisset*; with *l* as c. 74 *locus, lustrum, lupanar*; with *u* as c. 69 *uiduitatis eius uelut quandam uirginitatem carminibus et uenenis uiolarem*; with *r* as c. 76 *ursum post recens repudium*; with *t* as c. 70 *te tuomet testimonio*. Less frequently with initial vowels: but cp. c. 30 *ad amoris ardorem accendendum*; and c. 51 *est enim etiam eius egregius liber*. Sometimes initial syllables are repeated: cp. c. 4 *crinium crimen*; c. 60 *importuna impudentia*; c. 82 *immanem inuidiam apud imperitos*.

(b) Apuleius is fond of elaborate patterns of alliteration. Dr. Purser (*Cupid and Psyche*, p. xci) has called attention to the close resemblance in this as in other respects to the style of Lyly's *Euphues*. Sometimes the alliteration is *alternate*, whether (1) with four words as c. 8 *contendat maiorem curam munditiarum*. c. 46 *ait pueros alios producturum* and *enim produci eos pueros*. c. 49 *primam causam primordiis corporis*. c. 91 *diuidua pars dotis posteriori*; or (2) with five words: c. 17 *uillam publicam uenerat, parum uisum*. c. 29 *quaeri pisciculos, quod pretio quaerebantur*; or (3) with as many as seven words: c. 47 *de quindecim seruis denuntiasti: quid si de ui*. At other times the alliteration is *chiastic*: e.g. c. 13 *ueniam Platoni philosopho uorsuum*. c. 28 *pro accusationis longitudine largiter aquae*. c. 80 *nusquam mulier magian nominauit*. Occasionally a word beginning with a different letter is the central point of the *chiasmus*. c. 29 *quodne piscatores mihi piscem quaesierunt?* c. 82 *confessionem mulieris de magia cognosci*. At other times again the alliterative words go in pairs: c. 50 *candore compressi aeris albida*. c. 98 (*si per*) *uerum uelis, multi mirantur*.

In c. 34 the eleven words after *comendo capillo quaesitum* have only three initial letters: *uel aucupandis uolantibus piscem accipitrem aut uenandis apris piscem apriculum aut*. A good example of continued alliteration in various forms will be found in the end of c. 51 and beginning of c. 52.

(c) Words with the same prefix are used together: c. 4

INTRODUCTION

implexus atque impeditus. c. 11 *profiteri et promulgare.* c. 14 *infusum . . . incusum . . . inustum . . . illitum.* c. 40 *interspersa atque interseminata.* c. 43 *redigi ac redire.* c. 50 *obruit et obturbat.* c. 58 *compositum et commentum.* c. 74 *exossis et eneruis.* c. 97 *obicit et obsternit.*

(d) Words with different prefixes are used together: c. 9 *pro implexis . . . complexum.* c. 14 *ineunte . . . obeuntem.* c. 45 *dissimulas . . . insimulas.* c. 65 *ignoscendi . . . cognoscendi.* c. 76 *exsoleto . . . obsoleto.* c. 81 *experiendo . . . comperisti.* c. 101 *perorare . . . exorare.*

(e) Words are used together with and without prefix: c. 15 *iurganti . . . obiurganti.* c. 30 *fundo . . . profundo.* c. 77 *modicus . . . immodicus* (so in Tertullian). c. 79 *subscribitur . . . scribitur.* c. 93 *suasi . . . persuasi.* c. 103 *reuereri . . . uereri.*

(f) Adjectives of similar sound and meaning are coupled: c. 7 *libero et liberali* (see Koziol, p. 208, and note in this commentary, *ad loc.*).

(g) Words similar but for one letter are used together: most of these are recognized assonances that have appeared before Apuleius' time: c. 9 *dum potiar, patiar.* c. 15 *pingi . . . fingi.* c. 16 *uel uda uel suda.* c. 56 *locus aut lucus.* c. 84 *amens amans.* c. 85 *uiuenti et uidenti.* c. 102 *ueneficium . . . beneficium.*

(h) The pun and play upon words is very common: (1) at times it is a mere jingle without any connexion of meaning or any antithesis in the sentence: e. g. c. 18 *audirent, auderesne.* c. 26 *concessum est magum esse haud magis quam regnare.* c. 66 *causa . . . cassam.* c. 67 *uirus . . . uiribus.* c. 93 *liberorum . . . liberius.* (2) Again advantage may be taken of the similar sound to make an antithesis or climax: c. 9 *tempore tempora.* c. 58 *plumae . . . plumbeae.* c. 62 *oppido.* c. 63 *scelestus . . . sceletum.* c. 83 *foras . . . forum* (in some of these examples the original derivation is the same: in others the resemblance is purely accidental). (3) Different words from the same stem

THE STYLE OF THE *APOLOGY*

are purposely used together. c. 5 *disertissimum, disserere, disertabo*. c. 7 *oris . . . orator*. c. 55 *sudores . . . sudariolo*. c. 63 *laruam . . . laruatus*. c. 83 *uocales . . . uocem*. (4) There are plays on two meanings of the same word. c. 9 *florem . . . floribus*. c. 15 *de finibus*. c. 31 *ab aestibus . . . ad aestus*. c. 51 *caducis . . . caducas*. c. 52 *torquet . . . contrahit . . . illiditur* are all with double meanings. c. 86 *litteras attigisses*. (5) There remains yet another kind of pun, where the play is made not upon the word actually expressed, but upon one connected with it in meaning. Thus in c. 4 *capitale* is a pun not on *crinium* but on *capitis* which it suggests, and in c. 35 *alga* is a pun not on *querceram* (ague), but on *algorem* (shivering), which would be its natural concomitant.

V. *Diminutives*. The use of diminutives was characteristic rather of the age than of the man; it was a common feature of ordinary speech, stimulated in literature by the archaistic revival, for the oldest Latin poets, such as Ennius and Plautus, had a large number in their works: the influence of rhetoric also was partly responsible for their frequent presence (see Brock, p. 189; Kretschmann, pp. 65 ff.; Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata*, pp. 93-100).

Appearing for the first time in Apuleius are: *ampliusculus* (c. 75); *aquariolus* (c. 78); *flucticulus* (c. 35); *gingiuula* (c. 6); *Mercuriolus* (c. 61); *sudariolum* (c. 55); *tumidulus* (c. 6); *ueretilla* (c. 34).

New senses are given to: *denticulus*, lit. (c. 8); *fornacula*, met. (c. 74); *sigillum*, never sing. in class. Lat. (c. 62).

Others used in this speech, if we omit common words like *agellus, libellus, osculum, tabella*, etc. are: *aetatula* (c. 2); *apriculus* (c. 34); *arula* (c. 42); *assula* (c. 35); *caliculus* (c. 35); *centunculus* (c. 13); *clausula* (c. 84); *conchula* (c. 35); *corculum* (c. 40); *hamulus* (c. 32); *herediolum* (c. 101); *linteolum* (c. 53); *pauculus* (c. 17); *perula* (c. 22); *pisciculus* (c. 29); *puerulus* (c. 27); *pulvisculus* (c. 6); *resticula* (c. 35).

INTRODUCTION

The diminutive force of the termination is being weakened, for we have such combinations as *tenuem pulvisculum* (c. 6); *exiguum herediolum* (c. 101).

VI. *Greek words and Graecisms.* Kretschmann (p. 69) and Purser (p. xcv) call attention to the paucity of Greek words that Apuleius uses. Purser only enumerates seven in the Cupid and Psyche narrative, which he describes as the chief ones. But a much longer list can be produced from the *Apology*, even if we eliminate the commonest words like *poeta*, *philosophus*, *epistula*, *thesaurus*, and those which have taken a Latinized form as *obsono* and *crapula*.

We may note in the *Apology*: *abacus* (c. 16); *architectus* (c. 74); *barathrum* (c. 83); *basilica* (c. 73); *bucolicus* (c. 10); *choragium*, *crocata* (c. 13); *chorus* (c. 31); *daemonion* (c. 27) -um (c. 63); *delfinus* (c. 32); *diadema* (c. 22); *dialecticus* (cc. 15, 80); *donax* (c. 9); *elleborum* (c. 32); *epistolium* (cc. 6, 79); *exoticus* (c. 8); *gagates* (c. 45); *geometria*, -icus (cc. 16, 61); *hebenum*, originally a Phoenician word (c. 61); *hepatia* (c. 41); *iambicus* (c. 10); *magia* (acc. -an), -icus, -us (cc. 2, 29, etc.); *mechanica* (c. 61); *myoparo* (c. 32); *mystes*, *mysterium* (cc. 55, 56); *octaphoron* (c. 76); *palaestricus*, *palaestrita* (cc. 63, 48); *parasitus* (c. 100); *pera* (c. 22); *physicus* (c. 45); *pirata* (c. 32); *problema* (c. 36); *sceletus* ἀπ. λεγ. (cc. 61 and 63); *symposium* (c. 57); *syrma* (c. 13); *thymelicus* (c. 13); *tyrannis* (c. 18). Apuleius (c. 38) prides himself on finding Latin equivalents for a technical Greek vocabulary.

The constructions which can be called definitely Graecisms in the *Apology* are few, and are not as a rule original to Apuleius, but have come to him through earlier Latin literature. Cp. c. 10 *abstinens nominum* (Hor.), the Greek genitive of ablation as with ἀπαλλάττομαι. c. 19 *huius animi frustra es* = Greek genitive with σφάλλομαι. c. 50 *foras corporis* = the Greek genitive with ἔξω. c. 90 *omnium purgaui* (Hor.) = the Greek genitive of ablation as with καθαίρω. c. 3 *male audio*

THE STYLE OF THE *APOLOGY*

= Greek *κακῶς ἀκούω*, but *quod libentius audit* (c. 56) is a direct reminiscence of Horace. This idiom may, however, be indigenous.

Other constructions that have been called Graecisms are very disputable. Thus c. 36 *Platonis minores* is like the Greek genitive of comparison if *minores* = *posterī*, but an ordinary possessive genitive if it = *discipuli*. In c. 97 *paucorum mensium*, if it means 'within a few months', would be apparently a unique example in Latin: it probably depends upon *hereditatem*, the antecedent of *quam*. The construction of c. 79 *credo quod amabat* has been represented as due to *ᾧτι* with the indicative (this construction has already appeared in *bell. Hisp.* and *Petr.*), but this would not account for the constant use of *quod* with the subjunctive (= that), e. g. in c. 67. So again the omission of *potius* with *quam* in cc. 28, 82, and 103, the use of the genitive of the personal pronoun, as in cc. 1, 4, 25, etc., the construction *tantus animi* in c. 22, have been labelled Graecisms, but without sufficient justification. The general tendency to graecize Latin in Africa was a later phenomenon (see Brock, pp. 202-7).

VII. *New words.* Apuleius provides a very large number of words that appear in his pages for the first time: some of these he probably coined for the purpose of providing an exact balance: to others he gave literary currency, feeling that they had a definite value. There are words still in use among ourselves which first appear in his writings: e. g. culpable, interperse, beatific, initial. It will be noticed that a very large number of his new words are either abstract nouns, or nouns ending in *-tor* or *-trix*. In the following list words which I believe to be *ἄπαξ λεγόμενα* and not to be found outside the *Apology* are asterisked, words found elsewhere in Apuleius, but not outside his writings, are obelized:

Nouns:

adgnomentum
busequa

c. 56 [Cledon. Gramm.]
c. 10 [Sid. Ep.]

INTRODUCTION

*cluden	c. 78.
coemptor	c. 74 [Hil.]
collurchinatio	c. 75 [Cl. Mam.]
†commeator	c. 64.
commentator	c. 74 [Tert., Sid. Ep., Serv. etc.]
commixtio	c. 32 [Arn. Hier. Aug. etc.]
*complanator	c. 6.
*concrementum	c. 49.
conditrix	c. 18 [Macr. Tert. etc.]
conditus	c. 24 [Censor. etc.]
*conuerrior	c. 6.
degulator	c. 75 [Isid.]
demersus	c. 21 [Firm.]
*depector	c. 74.
†dissimulamentum	c. 87.
*emasculator	c. 74.
famulitium	c. 17 [Macr. Spart. Mart. Cap.] quoted as an old word Paul. ex Fest.
†feminal	c. 33.
fluor	c. 15, but used med. by Celsus.
*formidamen	c. 64.
*genitus	c. 36.
gulo	c. 32 [Macr.]
illectamentum	cc. 98, 102 [Cl. Mam.]
insimulator	c. 30 [Pacat.]
*interfeminium	c. 33.
*lustrator = ranger	c. 22 [in Schol. Iuv. = clean- ser].
machinatus	c. 74 [Sid. Ep.]
maculatio	c. 50 [Firm.]
*memoraculum	c. 56.
nimietas	c. 19 [Arn. Eutr. etc.]
*obiectamentum	c. 1.
*occursaculum	c. 64.
olenticetum	c. 8 [Cl. Mam.]
opertus	c. 56 [Macr. Paul. Nol.]
ostentatrix	c. 76 [Prud.]
*possessus	c. 13.
praeministra	c. 8 [Macr.]

THE STYLE OF THE *APOLOGY*

*praeripia (pl.)	c. 8.
*procatio (em. Casaubon)	c. 72.
purgator	c. 22 [Firm. August.]
reperitrix	c. 18 [Tert. Hier.]
†ruratio	c. 56.
sospitator	c. 64 [Arn.]
spurium	c. 35 [Isid.]
sustentus (or sustentatus)	c. 21 [Dig. Cod. Theod.]
terriculamentum	c. 64 [Sid. Ep.]
†tersus	c. 6.
tristitudo	c. 32 [Sid. Ep.]
*uillico	c. 87.
*uisitor	c. 98.
*uolpio	c. 86.

Adjectives, etc. :

benesuadus	c. 18 [Carm. Epig. Christ.]
candificus	c. 6 [Eug. Tolet.]
*certabundus	c. 22.
*cuiusuis	c. 82.
culpabilis	c. 14 [Tert. Arn. Hier. etc.]
dulciloquus	c. 9 [Aus.]
effabilis	c. 64 [Amm.]
*excusabundus	c. 79.
exossis	c. 40 [Sid. Ep.]
fetulentus	c. 7 [Arn.]
†incredundus	c. 47.
initialis	c. 64 [Agg. Urb.]
*instudiosus	c. 40.
inuestis	c. 98 [Serv. Tert.]
irreproscibilis	c. 92 [Sid. Ep.]
liquabilis	c. 30 [Prud.]
*mutuarius	c. 17.
omnimodus	c. 50 [Vulg.]
ouiparus	c. 38 [Fulg. Aus.]
*peregregius	c. 37.
†periclitabundus	c. 72.
*qualisnam	c. 2.
*spumabundus	c. 44.
*spumidus	c. 50.
*uiuiparus	c. 38 (see note).

INTRODUCTION

Verbs :

cambio	c. 17 (see note).
circulo	c. 89 [Cael. Mart. etc.]
commentior	c. 62 [Iren. Vulg. etc.]
conuario	c. 50 [intrans. in Cael.]
exacerbesco	c. 85 [Sid. Ep.]
*exdorso (?)	c. 42.
*obructo	c. 59.
*obsterno	c. 97.
*obtinio	c. 48.
praelauo	c. 8 [Theod. Prisc.]
praesago	c. 43 [Hier. Cassiod.]
proquirito	c. 82 [Sid. Ep., Cl. Mam.]
*prospiro	c. 50.
*splendido	c. 103.
subneruo	c. 84 [Tert. Ambros. Vulg.]
surio	c. 38 [Arn.]
transuoro	c. 93 [Arn. Cael.]
*uerbigero	c. 73.

Participles :

defaeneratus	c. 75 [Ambros. gerund. in Cic.]
effigiatus	c. 14 [Tert. Min. Prud. Amm. Sid. Ep. etc.]
graecatus	c. 87 [verb in Hor.]
immedicatus	c. 76 [Paul. Hil.]
*intergarritus	c. 17.
*interseminatus	c. 40.
†interspersus	c. 40.
obcantatus	c. 84 [Paul.]
*proliquatus	c. 15.

Adverbs :

ambifariam	c. 4 [Sid. Ep., Aug.]
†cohibiliter [ius]	c. 36 [adj. in Gell.]
competentissime	c. 65 [Aug. cod. Theod.]
*congestim	c. 35.
*contrauersim	c. 15.
†nuper usque	cc. 16 and 23.

(N.B.—Apuleius uses new adverbial forms from the ablative of participles, e. g. *depenso*, c. 29 ; *testato*, cc. 78, 83.)

THE STYLE OF THE *APOLOGY*

Comparatives and superlatives special to Apuleius will be noted in the commentary.

VIII. *Poetical reminiscences* are naturally to be found in Apuleius' writings. "Fine" writing always tends to assume a certain poetical tone, and this poetical prose of the rhetoricians silenced all true poetry. There is really no poetry in the Antonine age; rhetoric took its place' (Purser, p. lxxxvii). In this speech there are not many instances of the ἐκφράσεις or poetical descriptions which are so numerous in the *Metamorphoses*; c. 63 with the description of Mercury's statue is the best example, but the pseudo-disparagement of his own personal appearance in c. 4 partakes of the same character. Among individual reminiscences of Roman poets, apart from explicit allusions to them, we may notice:

- (a) Naevius c. 75 *quod male partum erat ut male periret*.
- (b) Lucretius c. 14 *ritu cadaveris* (cp. Lucr. vi. 1155).
c. 16 *in loco lumine collustrato* (cp. Lucr. v. 575).
- (c) Catullus c. 6 the word *epistolium* (cp. Cat. lxviii. 2).
c. 16 *albus an ater* (cp. Cat. xciii. 2), but the phrase is proverbial.
- (d) Vergil c. 8 *uenenum inspirare* (G. iv. 236).
c. 16 *sulcos rugarum* (A. vii. 417).
c. 18 *paruo potens* (A. vi. 844).
c. 53 *crudae senectutis* (A. vi. 304).
c. 57 *animum explesse* (A. ii. 586).
c. 60 *pinnarum formidines* (A. xii. 750).
c. 77 *haud mollia* (G. iii. 41, etc.).
- (e) Horace c. 23 *tanti estis quantum habetis* (Sat. i. 1. 62).
c. 56 *libentius audit* (Sat. ii. 6. 20).
c. 57 *uincit idem sagacitate odorandi canes et vulturios* (Epod. xii. 4).
c. 64 *omnia noctium occursacula* (Epod. v. 92).
- (f) Ovid c. 36 *occidua senectute* (Met. xv. 226).

IX. *Archaism and vulgarism*. Apuleius might well have been criticized in the words of Lucian's *Lexiphanes* (c. 17)

INTRODUCTION

ζητῶ . . . ὅπου κατακλείσας εἶχες τοσοῦτον ἔσμὸν ἀτόπων καὶ διαστρόφων ὀνομάτων, ὧν τὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐποίησας, τὰ δὲ κατορωρυγμένα ποθὲν ἀνασπῶν . . . τοσοῦτον βόρβορον συνερανίσας κατήντησάς μου.¹ We have seen his fondness for inventing words: we find also in him a large number of words and phrases which had been used in the earliest writers and especially the comedians. But the problem is insoluble in many cases whether these words reach him as literary reminiscences or as examples of ordinary speech. At first the vulgar and literary Latin would not have been widely apart: then as a classical style was formed a process of rejection would banish many words which had been previously in use; finally the influence of archaism would restore to literary usage the pre-classical idiom. So that vulgarism is very difficult to distinguish from archaism. With us the same word may be Shakespearian or Miltonian and provincial; thus in Pembrokeshire to 'mich' (= to play truant, as in Shakespeare) and 'rathe' (= early, as in Milton) are in common use: so that the same word might be a literary affectation or homely colloquialism in accordance with the context or general purpose of the writer. A word can be hailed as slang (e. g. slog, spook) whose literary relationships show a respectable birth, but a decline in fortune; literary purism might reject a word like 'chuck', which can be used courageously with great effect by Newman.² With Apuleius the difficulty of determining whether his use of an old phrase is an archaism or the employment of current idiom is increased by the fact that his own influence was so strong upon succeeding writers that its reappearance in Arnobius, Tertullian, and Cyprian need not show that any expression was current in the second and third centuries (still less that it was current in Africa): for it may be derived in them from Apuleius himself.

¹ Cp. Sen. *Ep.* 114, 10, who condemns one *qui modo antiqua uerba atque exsoleta reuocat ac profert, modo fingit ignota ac deflectit.*

² *Dream of Gerontius.*

THE STYLE OF THE *APOLOGY*

Leky and Desertine try to show by a collection of words and phrases from Plautus and the other comedians that the syntax and vocabulary of Apuleius were largely derived from them, but the actual phrases in the *Apology* that can be claimed as reminiscences of particular passages are few; in no case is Plautus mentioned, as in *Florida* 2, and in no case is a line quoted in full from Plautus as in that passage. Twice, however, there is a quotation from comedy: once from Afranius in c. 12, once from an unknown comedian in c. 85, and in c. 5 a reference is made to a remark of Caecilius that innocence is eloquence. The passages that seem most like direct reminiscence are c. 42 *disquamari et exdorsari* (cp. Plaut. *Aul.* 398); c. 51 *fidem arbitratus* (cp. Plaut. *Bacch.* 570); c. 59 *quid sit diei* (cp. Plaut. *Trin.* 811). Some of the archaic idioms were almost certainly used in common speech; e.g. *suus sibi* (cc. 6, 69); *nemo quisquam* (c. 7); *nullus* for *non* (c. 29, found in Cicero's letters); *beasti* (c. 37); *morem mihi habeo* (c. 63). Others are proverbial, as *uertit cornua* (c. 81, cp. Plaut. *Pseud.* 1021). Others illustrate a force which was operative in later colloquial Latin, such as the unnecessary composition with a prefix: e.g. *dispuget* (c. 63); *complacitus* (c. 15). Others are found both in Plautus and in silver age writers: e.g. *cupiens* with the genitive (c. 73, found six times in Tacitus). But there are words like *oppido* and *autumo* which Quintilian tells us were extinct or growing extinct in his time, and some forms and phrases have a distinctly archaic appearance: e.g. *scilicet fuisse* (c. 29); *qui di perduint* (c. 75); *credo omnium rerum* (c. 73). The number of expressions common to the comedians and Apuleius is admittedly very large (they will be noticed individually in the commentary), but the classification of all of them into archaistic and colloquial is too largely a matter of inference to be attempted here.

X. '*Romance*' idioms. Throughout the history of the Latin language we find the beginnings of that analytic use of language

INTRODUCTION

which recast it into the forms of the Romance languages. In comedy and in Cicero's letters this is noticeable, and we find it markedly so in Apuleius, where other Low-Latin tendencies are recognizable. A few may be noticed in the *Apology*:

(1) An extension of the use of *habeo* as an auxiliary. It is found in Cicero with *compertum, dictum*, etc., and also in the idiom *habeo dicere*.

(2) The verb *sum* is used analytically with the participle: *praesens est* (cc. 62. 101) is not a very striking example, but cp. de M. 11. *sunt flantes* (see Leky, p. 35). The pluperfect instead of imperfect is used to form the pluperfect of a verb, c. 68 *nupta fuerat*, etc.

(3) The otiose preposition is very common where the case-ending alone would have been sufficient: e.g. c. 4 *ab ore honestissimos* (a comic use). c. 57 *in eo tempore* (= at that time), *in paucis mensibus* (= within a few months). cc. 5, 74 *ex summis uiribus* (a comic use), Wölfflin, *Archiv f. lat. Lex.* vi, p. 5, says that this is prior to the revival of archaism, being found in Florus: 'bei Florus ist an plautinische Reminiscenzen nicht zu denken.' Kroll, *Rh. Mus.* lii. 576, disputes this. c. 71 *prae ceteris maluisse*. A widely extended use of *ad* is noticeable.

(4) The gerund in *-do* is used instead of the present participle as in modern Italian.

(5) *Iste* is used for *hic* (c. 18, etc.), as commonly in mediaeval Latin and in Romance languages (e.g. Span. *este*).

(6) *Eccille* reappears in literary Latin (cp. Ital. *quello*).

(7) The pluperfect is often used for the imperfect subjunctive. See note on c. 61; cp. Fr. *que je fusse*, etc.

A. S. O.

APVLEI APOLOGIA

SIGLA

F = Laurentianus 68. 2

ϕ = Laurentianus 29. 2

Codices Deteriores

*L*¹ = Laurentianus 54. 32

*L*² = Laurentianus 54. 12

*L*³ = Laurentianus 54. 13

A = Ambrosianus N. 180

*V*¹ = Vat. (Lat.) 2193

*V*² = Vat. (Lat.) 3384

*V*³ = Ottob. Vat. 2047

*V*⁴ = Ottob. Vat. 2091

*V*⁵ = Urb. Vat. 199

N = Neapol. IV. G. 55

*M*¹ = Marcianus L. Z. 469

*M*² = Marcianus Cl. 14. 34

D = Sandanielensis 91

T = Tolosanus 827

δ = Cod. Doruillianus (Leid. Oud. 34)

B = Mus. Brit. Add. 24893

v = lectiones uulgatae

* = rasura

APVLEI APOLOGIA

CERTVS equidem eram proque uero obtinebam, Maxime 1
 Claudī quique in consilio estis, Sicinium Aemilianum, senem
 notissimae temeritatis, accusationem mei prius apud te
 coeptam quam apud se cogitatam penuria criminum solis
 conuiciis impleturum; quippe insimulari quiuis innocens 5
 potest, reuinci nisi nocens non potest. quo ego uno prae-
 cipue confisus gratulor medius fidius, quod mihi copia et
 facultas te iudice obtigit purgandae apud imperitos philo-
 sophiae et probandi mei; quanquam istae calumniae ut
 prima specie graues, ita ad difficultatem defensionis repen- 10
 tinae fuere. nam, ut meministi, dies abhinc quintus an
 sextus est, cum me causam pro uxore mea Pudentilla ad-
 uersus Granios agere aggressum de composito necopinantem
 patroni eius incessere maledictis et insimulare magicorum
 maleficiorum ac denique necis Pontiani priuigni mei coepere. 15
 quae ego cum intellexerem non tam crimina iudicio quam
 obiectamenta iurgio prolata, ultro eos ad accusandum crebris
 flagitationibus prouocaui. ibi uero Aemilianus cum te
 quoque acrius motum et ex uerbis rem factam uideret, quae-
 rere occepit ex diffidentia latibulum aliquod temeritati. 20
 igitur Pontianum fratris sui filium, quem paulo prius occisum 2
 a me clamitarat, postquam ad subscribendum compellitur,

I. *Inscriptio deest in F*: MADAVRENSIS APVLEI PLATONICI DE MAGIA
 LIBER PRIMVS φ 13 agere gressum (*suprascr. ag*) φ: aggressum *F*.
nescio quid superscriptum est quod legi uix potest; fortasse agere 14
 patroni *Fφ* (*in F tro deletum est, sed patroni superscripsit m. rec.*)
 20 occepit φ (*ex acc-*): accepit *F*

2. 1 quem] qui *A Bosscha*

ilico oblitus est ; de morte cognati adulescentis subito tacere.
 tanti criminis descriptione (ne) tamen omnino desistere
 5 uideretur, calumniam magiae, quae facilius infamatur quam
 probatur, eam solum sibi delegit ad accusandum. ac ne id
 quidem de professo audet, uerum postera die dat libellum
 nomine priuigni mei Sicini Pudentis admodum pueri et
 adscribit se ei assistere, nouo more per alium lacesse
 10 scilicet ut obtentu eius aetatae ipse insimulationis falsae
 non plecteretur. quod tu cum sollertissime animaduertisses
 et idcirco eum denuo iussisses proprio nomine accusationem
 delatam sustinere, pollicitus ita facturum ne sic quidem
 quitus est ut comminus ageret percelli, set iam et aduersum
 15 te contumaciter eminus calumniis uelitur. ita totiens ab
 accusandi periculo profugus in assistendi uenia perseuerauit.
 igitur et priusquam causa ageretur, facile intellectu cuius
 fuit, qualisnam accusatio futura esset, cuius qui fuerat pro-
 fessor et machinator idem fieri auctor timeret, ac praesertim
 20 Sicinius Aemilianus, qui, si quippiam ueri in me explorasset,
 nunquam profecto tam cunctanter hominem extraneum tot
 tantorumque criminum postulasset, qui auunculi sui testa-
 mentum quod uerum sciebat pro falso infamarit, tanta quidem
 pertinacia, ut, cum Lollius Urbicus V. C. uerum uideri et
 25 ratum esse debere de consilio consularium uirorum pronun-
 tiasset, contra clarissimam uocem iurauerit uecordissimus
 iste, tamen illud testamentum fictum esse, adeo ut aegre
 3 Lollius Urbicus ab eius pernicie temperarit. quam quidem

3 tacere *L² Helm* : tacerem *F* ϕ : tacens δ *V⁵ ed. princ.* 3-4 tacens
 ... descriptione (destitit) ; ne tamen coniecit *Butler* 4 descrip-
 tionem *L¹ L³* ne add. *Helm* tamen * omnino *F* (quid fuerit
 dispici non potest) : tamen omnino ϕ : tamen ne omnino *V¹ et alii*
codd. dett. 14 quitus *F* (n *suprascr. m. rec.*) : quintus ϕ (in *mg.*
 quitus *m. rec.*) percellis etiam et *F* : perpellis etiam et ϕ : per-
 pelli etiam et *A* 19 auctor et professor transposuit *Pricaeus* :
 actor *H. Müller* 23 infamarit *v* : infamaret *F* ϕ : infamarat *ed.*
Basil 24 peruicacia *ed. princ.* 25 consiliarium *M¹ Lipsius* : cla-
 rissimorum *Salmasius* : consultorum *Hirschfeld* 26 clarissima
 uoce *TDL³ Casaubonus* 27 iste, tamen ita distinxit *Dilthey*

uocem et tua aequitate et mea innocentia fretus spero in hoc
 quoque iudicio erupturam, quippe qui sciens innocentem
 criminatur eo sane facilius, quod iam, ut dixi, mentiens
 apud praefectum urbi in amplissima causa conuictus est. 5
 namque peccatum semel ut bonus quisque postea sollicitius
 cauet, ita qui ingenio malo est confidentius integrat ac iam
 de cetero quo saepius, eo apertius delinquit. pudor enim
 ueluti uestis quanto obsoletior est, tanto incuriosius habetur.
 et ideo necessarium arbitror pro integritate pudoris mei, 10
 priusquam ad rem aggrediar, maledicta omnia refutare.
 sustineo enim non modo meam, uerum etiam philosophiae
 defensionem, cuius magnitudo uel minimam reprehensionem
 pro maximo crimine aspernatur, propter quod paulo prius
 patroni Aemiliani multa in me proprie conficta et alia com- 15
 muniter in philosophos sueta ab imperitis mercennaria
 loquacitate effutierunt. quae etsi possunt ab his utiliter
 blaterata ob mercedem et auctoramento impudentiae depensa
 haberi, iam concesso quodam more rabulis id genus, quo
 ferme solent linguae suae uirus alieno dolori locare, tamen 20
 uel mea causa paucis refellenda sunt, ne is, qui sedulo
 laboro ut ne quid maculae aut inhonestamenti in me ad-
 mittam, uidear cuiquam, si quid ex friuolis praeteriero, id
 agnouisse potius quam contempsisse. est enim pudentis
 animi et uerecundi, ut mea opinio fert, uel falsas uitupera- 25
 tiones grauari, cum etiam hi, qui sibi delicti alicuius conscii
 sunt, tamen, cum male audiunt, impendio commoueantur et
 obirascantur, quamquam, exinde ut male facere coeperunt,

3. 9 obsoletior *v* : obsolentior *F*φ 13 cuius *F*φ (*in cūiā mutauit m.*
al. in F) : cuius *L*¹ *V*¹ *V*⁴ *V*⁶δ *M*¹ 14 pro maximo *L*³ *V*² (*in mg.*) et *m.*
rec. in mg. φ : p**ximo *F* (*duabus saltem litteris erasis ; quae fuerint*
dispici non potest) : proximo φ : proximam *V*⁶δ crimini *V*⁶ :
 crimine δ 16 sueta *F*φ : ficta *ed. princ.* : fingi sueta *Haupt* :
alii alia coniecerunt 17 futiliter *Coluius* 18 depensa *F*φ (*sed*
in F lin. add. m. rec.) 19 rabulis *Coluius* : fabulis *F*φ 20
 ferme *F*φ : ferinae *L*³ *V*¹ 25 falsas uiturationes (*suprascr. pe m. 1*) φ :
 falsa* uituratione* (*suprascr. pe m. al.*) *F*

consueuerint male audire, quod, si a ceteris silentium est,
 30 tamen ipsi sibimet conscii sunt posse se merito increpari;
 enimvero bonus et innoxius quisque rudis et imperitas auris
 ad male audiendum habens et laudis assuetudine contumeliae
 insolens multo tanta ex animo laborat ea sibi immerito dici,
 quae ipse possit aliis uere obiectare. quod si forte inepta
 35 uidebor et oppido friuola uelle defendere, illis debet ea res
 uitio uorti, quibus turpe est etiam haec obiectasse, non mihi
 culpa dari, cui honestum erit etiam haec diluisse.

4 Audisti ergo paulo prius in principio accusationis ita dici:
 ‘accusamus apud te philosophum formonsum et tam Graece
 quam Latine’—pro nefas!—‘disertissimum.’ nisi fallor enim,
 his ipsis uerbis accusationem mei ingressus est Tannonius
 10 Pudens, homo uere ille quidem non disertissimus. quod
 utinam tam grauia formae et facundiae crimina uere mihi
 opprobasset; non difficile ei respondissem quod Homericus
 Alexander Hectori:

οὐ τοι ἀπόβλητ' ἐστὶ θεῶν ἐρικυδέα δῶρα,
 10 ὅσσα κεν αὐτοὶ δῶσιν, ἐκὼν δ' οὐκ ἄν τις ἔλοιτο,
 munera deum gloriosissima nequaquam aspernanda; quae
 tamen ab ipsis tribui sueta multis uolentibus non obtingunt.
 haec ego de forma respondissem. praeterea: licere etiam
 philosophis esse uoltu liberali; Pythagoram, qui primus se
 15 esse philosophum nuncuparit, eum sui saeculi excellentissima
 forma fuisse; item Zenonem illum antiquum Velia oriundum,
 qui primus omnium sollertissimo artificio (argumenta) ambi-
 fariam dissoluerit, eum quoque Zenonem longe decorissimum

29 post audire grauiter dist. φv 33 tanto L¹A 36 uorti Fφ,
 sed in F o in e mut. m. rec.: uerti suprascrs. m. rec. in φ

4. 1 ergo F: igitur φ 2 formo*sum F, n fortasse eraso, sed haud
 liquet 9 ουτοιοποβλητες . τιθεω | νερικυδεαδωρα (suprascr. ω eadem
 m.) occακεναυτοιδωcin | εκωνδογκαντισελουτο F 11-12 munera
 . . . obtingunt del. Scriuerius 11 aspernunda Fφ, sed m. al. nā
 suprascr. in φ 14 primus Krüger: primum Fφ se esse Fφ:
 esse del. Novák: sese Helm 17 argumenta add. Helm: argumentum
 Van der Vliet 18 dissoluerit T: dissolueret Fφ: disseruerit
 Goldbacher

fuisse, ut Plato autumat ; itemque multos philosophos ab ore honestissimos memoriae prodi, qui gratiam corporis morum 20 honestamentis ornauerint. sed haec defensio, ut dixi, aliquam multum a me remota est, cui praeter formae mediocritatem continuatio etiam litterati laboris omnem gratiam corpore deterget, habitudinem tenuat, sucum exsorbet, colorem obliterat, uigorem debilitat. capillus ipse, quem 25 isti aperto mendacio ad lenocinium decoris promissum dixere, uides quam sit amoenus ac delicatus, horrore implexus atque impeditus, stuppeo tomento adsimilis et inaequaliter hirtus et globosus et congestus, prorsum inenodabilis diutina incuria non modo comendi, sed saltem expediendi et dis- 30 criminandi : satis ut puto crinium crimen, quod illi quasi capitale intenderunt, refutatur.

De eloquentia uero, si qua mihi fuisset, neque mirum 5 neque inuidiosum deberet uideri, si ab ineunte aeuo unis studiis litterarum ex summis uiribus deditus omnibus aliis spretis uoluptatibus ad hoc aeui haud sciam anne super omnis homines impenso labore diuque noctuque cum de- 5 spectu et dispendio bonae ualetudinis eam quaesissem. sed nihil ab eloquentia metuant, quam ego, si quid omnino promoui, potius spero quam praesto. sane quidem, si uerum est quod Statium Caecilium in suis poematibus scripsisse dicunt, innocentiam eloquentiam esse, ego uero pro- 10 fiteor ista ratione ac praefero me nemini omnium de eloquentia concessurum. quis enim me hoc quidem pacto eloquentior uiuat, quippe qui nihil unquam cogitauit quod eloqui non auderem ? eundem me aio facundissimum esse, nam omne peccatum semper nefas habui ; eundem disertis- 15 simum, quod nullum meum factum uel dictum extet, de quo

21 ornauerunt *m. rec. in FL*³ 27 quam] quam non *v* : quam
nam δ 28 to*mento *F* ϕ : tormento *AL*¹*L*²*L*³*M*¹ 32 refutatum
est *ed. princ.*

5. 10 dicunt* *F* (*in* dicant *mutauit m. al., in mg. adscr. can*) :
dicanto ϕL ¹ : dicant *L*³

disserere publice non possim ita, ut iam de uorsibus disser-
tabo quos a me factos quasi pudendos protulerunt, cum
quidem me animaduertisti cum risu illis suscensentem, quod
20 eos absone et indocte pronuntiarent.

6 Primo igitur legerunt e ludicris meis epistolium de denti-
fricio uorsibus scriptum ad quendam Calpurnianum, qui cum
aduersum me eas litteras promeret, non uidit profecto cupi-
ditate laedendi, si quid mihi ex illis fieret criminosum, id
5 mihi secum esse commune. nam petisse eum a me aliquid
tersui dentibus uorsus testantur :

‘ Calpurniane, salue properis uorsibus.
misi, ut petisti, (tibi) munditias dentium,
nitelas oris ex Arabicis frugibus,
10 tenuem, candificum, nobilem puluisculum,
complanatorem tumidulae gingiuulae,
conuerritorem pridianae reliquiae,
ne qua uisatur tetra labes sordium,
restrictis forte si labellis riseris.’

15 quaeso, quid habent isti uorsus re aut uerbo pudendum,
quid omnino quod philosophus suum nolit uideri? nisi
forte in eo reprehendendus sum, quod Calpurniano puluis-
culum ex Arabicis frugibus miserim, quem multo aequius
erat spurcissimo ritu Hiberorum, ut ait Catullus, sua sibi
7 urina ‘ dentem atque russam pumicare gingiuam.’ uidi
ego dudum uix risum quosdam tenentis, cum munditias
oris uidelicet orator ille aspere accusaret et dentifricium
tanta indignatione pronuntiaret, quanta nemo quisquam
5 uenenum. quidni? crimen haud contemnendum philo-

17 uorsibus Fφ: uors- *ubique scripsimus, quanquam F nonnunquam*
uers- praebet

6. 8-16 misi . . . nolit uideri *post* 20 gingiuam habet F (in mg. H)
et φ, sed in φ ante misi et post uideri . . . m. al. scripsit: ordinem
restituit Pricaëus 8 tibi munditias Dousa : munditias Fφ : mundi-
cinas Lipsius : mundiciolas Haebelin 16 nolit L³V¹ : nollit
Fφ 20 pumicare Fφ : defricare Catullus (39. 19)

sopho, nihil in se sordidum sinere, nihil uspiam corporis
 aperti immundum pati ac fetulentum, praesertim os, cuius
 in propatulo et conspicuo usus homini creberrimus, siue ille
 cuipiam osculum ferat seu cum quiquam sermocinetur siue
 in auditorio dissertet siue in templo preces alleget: omnem 10
 quippe hominis actum sermo praeit, qui, ut ait poeta prae-
 cipuus, dentium muro proficiscitur. dares nunc aliquem
 similiter grandiloquum: diceret suo more cum primis cui
 ulla fandi cura sit impensius cetero corpore os colendum,
 quod esset animi uestibulum et orationis ianua et cogita- 15
 tionum comitium. ego certe pro meo captu dixerim nihil
 minus quam oris illuuiem libero et liberali uiro competere.
 est enim ea pars hominis loco celsa, uisu prompta, usu
 facunda; nam quidem feris et pecudibus os humile et
 deorsum ad pedes deiectum, uestigio et pabulo proximum, 20
 nunquam ferme nisi mortuis aut ad morsum exasperatis
 conspicitur: hominis uero nihil prius tacentis, nihil saepius
 loquentis contemplare. uelim igitur censor meus Aemilia- 8
 nus respondeat, unquamne ipse soleat pedes lauare; uel,
 si id non negat, contendat maiorem curam munditiarum
 pedibus quam dentibus impertiendam. plane quidem, si
 quis ita ut tu, Aemiliane, nunquam ferme os suum nisi 5
 maledictis et calumniis aperiat, censeo ne ulla cura os per-
 colat neque ille exotico puluere dentis emaculet, quos iustius
 carbone de rogo obteruerit, neque saltem communi aqua
 perluat: quin ei nocens lingua mendaciorum et amaritudi-
 num praeministra semper in fetutinis et olenticetis suis 10
 iaceat. nam quae malum ratio est linguam mundam et

7. 7 aperti immundum *Helm*: apertum mundum *Fφ*: apertum
 immundum *δ et m. rec. in mg. φ* 9 quiquam *ed. princeps*: quic-
 quam *Fφ* 19 fecunda *V⁵* humile ** *F* (*quid sit erasum, non*
liquet)

8. 7 ille *Fφ*: illo *V¹*: ullo *Lat. Latinius* 8 obteruerit *φ*:
 obteruerat *F* (*ra in ras.*)

laetam, uocem contra spurcam et tetram possidere, uiperæ
ritu niueo denticulo atrum uenenum inspirare? ceterum
qui sese sciat orationem prompturum neque inutilem neque
15 iniucundam, eius merito os, ut bono potui poculum, prae-
lauitur. et quid ego de homine nato diutius? belua im-
manis, crocodillus ille qui in Nilo gignitur, ea quoque, ut
comperior, purgandos sibi dentis innoxio hiatu prae-
bet. nam quod est ore amplo, set elingui et plerumque in aqua
20 recluso, multae hirudines dentibus implectuntur; eas illi,
cum egressus in praeipia fluminis hiauit, una ex auibis
fluuiialibus amica auis iniecto rostro sine noxae periculo
exsculpit.

9 Mitto haec. uenio ad ceteros uorsus ut illi uocant ama-
torios, quos tamen tam dure et rustice legere, ut odium
mouerent. sed quid ad magica maleficia, quod ego pueros
Scriboni Laeti, amici mei, carmine laudaui? an ideo magus,
5 quia poeta? quis unquam fando audiuit tam (ueri) similem
suspicionem, tam aptam coniecturam, tam proximum argu-
mentum? 'fecit uorsus Apuleius.' si malos, crimen est,
nec id tamen philosophi, sed poetae; sin bonos, quid
accusas? 'at enim ludicros et amatorios fecit.' num ergo
10 haec sunt crimina mea, et nomine erratis, qui me magiae
detulistis? fecere tamen et alii talia, etsi uos ignoratis:
apud Graecos Teius quidam et Lacedaemonius et Cius cum
aliis innumeris, etiam mulier Lesbia, lasciuie illa quidem
tantaque gratia, ut nobis insolentiam linguae suae dulcedine
15 carminum commendet, apud nos uero Aedituus et Porcius
et Catulus, isti quoque cum aliis innumeris. 'at philosophi

14 orationem *Stewech*: rationem *Fφ* 15 praelauitur *T*: prae-
labitur *Fφ*: praelauetur *Stewech*: praelauabitur *Lat. Latinius*
20 hirudines *Casaubonus*: arundines *Fφ* 21 auibis *del. Brantius*
22 auis *delet H. Müller*: eius *L⁸⁵*

9. 2 tam *φ*: *erasum est in F, sed suprascriptis m. al.* 5 ueri
similem *coni. Krüger*: similem *Fφ* 12 Cius *Bosscha*: cuius *Fφ*:
Ceus Coluius: *Ceiuss Helm*: *Cous Brantius*

non fuere.' num igitur etiam Solonem fuisse serium uirum
et philosophum negabis, cuius ille lasciuissimus uorsus est,
μηρῶν ἰμείρων καὶ γλυκεροῦ στόματος? et quid tam petulans
habent omnes uorsus mei, si cum isto uno contendantur? 20
ut taceam scripta Diogenis Cynici et Zenonis Stoicae sectae
conditoris, id genus plurima. recitem denuo, ut sciant me
eorum non pigere:

'et Critias mea delicia est et salua, Charine,
pars in amore meo, uita, tibi remanet; 25
ne metuas; nam me ignis et ignis torreat ut uult,
hasce duas flammās, dum potiar, patiar.
hoc modo sim uobis, unus sibi quisque quod ipse est:
hoc mihi uos eritis, quod duo sunt oculi.'

recitem nunc et alios, quos illi quasi intemperantissimos 30
postremum legere:

'floreā sēta, meum mel, et haec tibi carmina dono.
carmina dono tibi, sēta tuo genio,
carmina, uti, Critia, lux haec optata canatur,
quae bis septeno uere tibi remeat, 35
sēta autem, ut laeto tibi tempore tempora uernent,
aetatis florem floribus ut decores.
tu mihi des contra pro uerno flore tuum uer,
ut nostra exsuperes munera muneribus;
pro implexis sertis complexum corpore redde, 40
proque rosis oris sauia purpurei.
quod si animam inspires donaci, iam carmina nostra
cedent uicta tuo dulciloquo calamo.'

Habes crimen meum, Maxime, quasi improbi commissatoris 10

17 uirum *V*⁵: uerum *F*φ: uerum (*suprascr.* i) *V*¹: seuerum *T*: om.
δ *m.* 1: et seuerum *Bosscha* 19 *μηρῶν ἰμείρων καὶ γλυκεροῦ*
στόματος F 24 delicia est et *v*: delitescet *F* (-tescet *in ras.*
m. al.; quid sit erasum non liquet, nisi forte *ε*^r dispici potest):
delicie stet φ 38 des *Krüger*: da *v*: das *F*φ: dans *Bywater*
42 animam *Coluius*: animum *F*φ donaci *Haupt*: dona et
*F*φ nam *F*φ (*sed in iam mut. eadem manus in φ*)

de sertis et canticis compositum. hic illud etiam reprehendi animaduertisti, quod, cum aliis nominibus pueri uocentur, ego eos Charinum et Critian appellitarim. eadem igitur
 5 opera accusent C. Catullum, quod Lesbiam pro Clodia nominarit, et Tigidam similiter, quod quae Metella erat Perillam scripserit, et Propertium, qui Cunthiam dicat, Hostiam dissimulet, et Tibullum, quod ei sit Plania in animo, Delia in uorsu. et quidem C. Lucilium, quanquam sit iambicus,
 10 tamen improbarim, quod Gentium et Macedonem pueros directis nominibus carmine suo prostituerit. quanto modestius tandem Mantuanus poeta, qui itidem ut ego puerum amici sui Pollionis bucolico ludicro laudans et abstinens nominum sese quidem Corydonem, puerum uero Alexin
 15 uocat. sed Aemilianus, uir ultra Vergilianos opiliones et busequas rusticanus, agrestis quidem semper et barbarus, uerum longe austerior, ut putat, Serranis et Curiis et Fabriciis, negat id genus uorsus Platonico philosopho competere. etiamne, Aemiliane, si Platonis ipsius exemplo doceo factos?
 20 cuius nulla carmina extant nisi amoris elegia; nam cetera omnia, credo quod tam lepida non erant, igni deussit. disce igitur uorsus Platonis philosophi in puerum Astera, si tamen tantus natu potes litteras discere:

ἀστήρ πρὶν μὲν ἔλαμπες ἐνὶ ζωοῖσιν Ἐῶρος

25 νῦν δὲ θανὼν λάμπεις Ἑσπερος ἐν φθιμένοις.

IO. 5 catullum *m. rec. in mg.* φ: catulum Fφ 7 propertium φ: propertiam F cunthiam Fφ: cynthiam v 9 Lucilium Lipsius: Lucillum Fφ 12 puerum φ: puerium F (*litteris redintegratis*) 15 Virgilianos Fφ, *sed cf. Flor. 3 et Apol. 30 ubi F Vergilianos et Vergilium habet* 21 non erant φ et ante *corr. F* (in ierant mutauit *m. al.*) deussit F, *m. prima in mg.* (*quid in textu fuerit legi non potest*): deussit *suprascript m. al.*): dē sit φ (*correxist m. al. supra et in mg.*) 24 ἀστήρ πρὶν μὲν κτλ. *Diog. Laert. iii. 23*: ἀστηρπριμενες (*supra i vid. fuisse ~*) ἐνιζω | οἰκινεωσεν νυνδεθωνων λαμφεισπεροσεν | φθειμενοις F: *post hos uersus ἀστέρας εἰσαθρεῖς, ἀστήρ ἐμός, εἴθι γενομένην | οὐρανός, ὥς πολλοῖς ὄμμασιν εἰς σὲ βλέπω addunt edd. uett.*: uersionem Latinam habent V⁶⁸; *uide comment.*

item eiusdem Platonis in Alexin Phaedrumque pueros coniuncto carmine :

νῦν ὅτε μηδὲν Ἀλεξίς ὅσον μόνον εἶφ' ὅτι καλός,
ὥπται καὶ πάντῃ πᾶσι περιβλέπεται.
θυμέ, τί μηνύεις κυσὶν ὁστέον ; εἴτ' ἀνιήσει 30
ὕστερον. οὐχ οὕτω Φαῖδρον ἀπωλέσαμεν ;

ne pluris commemorem, nouissimum uorsum eius de Dione Syracusano si dixero, finem faciam : ὦ ἐμὸν ἐκμήνας θυμὸν ἔρωτι Δίων. Sed sumne ego ineptus, qui haec etiam in iudi- II
cio ? an uos potius calumniosi, qui etiam haec in accusatione, quasi ullum specimen morum sit uorsibus ludere ? Catullum ita respondentem maliuolis non legistis :

‘nam castum esse decet pium poetam 5
ipsum, uersiculos nihil necesse est’?

Diuus Adrianus cum Voconi amici sui poetae tumulum uorsibus muneretur, ita scripsit : ‘lascius uersu, mente pudicus eras,’ quod nunquam ita dixisset, si forent lepidiora carmina argumentum impudicitiae habenda. ipsius etiam 10
diui Adriani multa id genus legere me memini. aude sis, Aemiliane, dicere male id fieri, quod imperator et censor diuus Adrianus fecit et factum memoriae reliquit. ceterum Maximum quicquam putas culpaturum, quod sciat Platonis exemplo a me factum ? cuius uorsus quos nunc percensui 15
tanto sanctiores sunt, quanto apertiores, tanto pudicius com-

26 equidem *F litteris redintegratis ; fuit eiusdem alexim F litteris redintegratis ; fuit alexim φ* 28-31 νῦν ὅτε κτλ. *Diog. Laert.* iii. 23 (31) : νυνοτμειδε | νυλεξεισοσονμονεποτι καλλος ωπαι | καπ-
ταντηπασιπεριβλεπεταιθυμει | νυεϊσκυσινοστεονεπανινησει γιςερονουκ |
χουτοφαιδρονσπωλεσαμεν *F* 29 πᾶς τις ἐπιστρέφεται *Diog. Laert.* ;
uersionem Latinam habent V⁶⁸ ; uide comment. 33 ὦ ἐμὸν κτλ.
Diog. Laert. iii. 23 : ωτεμονεκυμηνσ | θυμονερωτιδιον *F* ante
hunc uersum addunt *edd. uett.* κεῖσθαι δ' εὐρυχόρῳ ἐν πατρίδι τίμιος
ἄστοις *ex Diog. Laert.* iii. 23 ; *uersionem Latinam habent V⁶⁸ ; uide comment.*

II. II aude sis *F (in mg. m. al. igitur) φ* : audes igitur *L³DV¹V⁸*

positi, quanto simplicius professi ; namque haec et id genus omnia dissimulare et occultare peccantis, profiteri et promulgare ludentis est ; quippe natura uox innocentiae, silentium maleficio distributa. mitto enim dicere alta illa et diuina Platonica, rarissimo cuique piorum ignara, ceterum omnibus profanis incognita : geminam esse Venerem deam, proprio quamque amore et diuersis amatoribus pollentis ; earum alteram uulgariam, quae sit percita populari amore, non modo humanis animis, uerum etiam pecuinis et ferinis ad libidinem imperitare ui immodica trucique percussorum animalium serua corpora complexu uincientem : alteram uero caelitem Venerem, praedita quae sit optimati amore, solis hominibus et eorum paucis curare, nullis ad turpitudinem stimulis uel illecebris sectatores suos percellentem ; quippe amorem eius non amoenum et lasciuum, sed contra incommum et serium pulchritudine honestatis uirtutes amatoribus suis conciliare, et si quando decora corpora commendet, a contumelia eorum procul abstertere ; neque enim quicquam aliud in corporum forma diligendum quam quod ammoneant diuinos animos eius pulchritudinis, quam prius ueram et sinceram inter deos uidere. quapropter, etsi pereleganter Afranius hoc scriptum relinquat ‘amabit sapiens, cupient ceteri,’ tamen si uerum uelis, Aemiliane, uel si haec intellegere unquam potes, non tam amat sapiens quam recordatur. da igitur ueniam Platoni philosopho uorsuum eius de amore, ne ego necesse habeam contra sententiam Neoptolemi Enniani pluribus philosophari ; uel si tu id non

12. 2 platonica *M*¹⁸: platonice *F*ϕ ignara *F*ϕ: gnara *V*⁵⁸ 5
per ciad (*suprascr.* percita) *F*: p—ciol. (*suprascr.* ta) ϕ (percita *in mg.*):
praedita *Acidalius* 7 ui *Rohde*: ut *F*ϕ 9 praedita *T*:
praeditam *F*ϕ: praedictam *L*³*M*¹: praedicatam *Helm* 10
Pricaeus 13 incommum *v*: incommum *F*ϕ 17 ammoneant ϕ:
commoneant *F* (cō litteris *redintegratis*; quid fuerit legi non potest)
18 etsi (*Jahn*) pereleganter *Krüger*: et semper eleganter *F*ϕ: ut
semper eleganter *V*⁵*T* 19 relinquat *F*: relinquit ϕ: relinquit *T*:
relinquit δ: relinquitur *L*¹*A*

facis, ego me facile patiar in huiuscemodi uorsibus culpari
cum Platone. tibi autem, Maxime, habeo gratiam pro- 5
pensam, cum has quoque appendices defensionis meae
idcirco necessarias, quia accusationi rependuntur, tam at-
tente audis. et ideo hoc etiam peto, quod mihi ante ipsa
crimina superest audias, ut adhuc fecisti, libenter et dili-
genter.

10

Sequitur enim de speculo longa illa et censoria oratio, de
quo pro rei atrocitate paene diruptus est Pudens clamitans :
'habet speculum philosophus, possidet speculum philo-
sophus.' ut igitur habere concedam—ne aliquid obiecisse
te credas, si negaro—, non tamen ex eo accipi me necesse est 15
exornari quoque ad speculum solere. quid enim? si
choragium thymelicum possiderem, num ex eo argumen-
tarere etiam uti me consuesse tragoedi syrmate, histrionis
crocuta, †orgia, mimi centunculo? non opinor. nam et
contra plurimis rebus possessu careo, usu fruor. quod si 20
neque habere utendi argumentum est neque non utendi non
habere et speculi non tam possessio culpatur quam inspectio,
illud etiam docear necesse est, quando et quibus praesentibus
in speculum inspexerim, quoniam, ut res est, magis piaculum
decernis speculum philosopho quam Cereris mundum pro- 25
fano uidere.

Cedo nunc, si et inspexisse me fateor, quod tandem crimen 14
est imaginem suam nosse eamque non uno loco conditam,
sed quoquo uelis paruo speculo promptam gestare? an tu
ignoras nihil esse aspectabilius homini nato quam formam
suam? equidem scio et filiorum cariores esse qui similes 5
uidentur et publicitus simulacrum suum cuique, quod uideat,

13. 18 tragidii (*in tragedi corr. φ*) Fφ : tragici Bywater, qui post his-
trionis interpungit 19 orgia Fφ locus nondum sanatus : ad trieterica
orgia V⁵ : orchestae serica Helm : archimimi Haupt : orgiastae
Bywater centulo Fφ (*sed corr. m. prim. in utroque ncu (ex ngu φ)*
suprascripto) 23 docear Fφ (r in s mut. al. m. in F) : doceas
L²V¹V² 24 maius V⁵

pro meritis praemio tribui. aut quid sibi statuæ et imagines
uariis artibus effigiatae uolunt? nisi forte quod artificio
elaboratum laudabile habetur, hoc natura oblatum culpabile
10 iudicandum est, cum sit in ea uel magis miranda et facilitas
et similitudo. quippe in omnibus manu faciundis imagini-
bus opera diutino sumitur, neque tamen similitudo aequæ
ut in speculis comparet; deest enim et luto uigor et saxo
color et picturae rigor et motus omnibus, qui præcipua fide
15 similitudinem repræsentat, cum in eo uisitur imago mire
relata, ut similis, ita mobilis et ad omnem nutum hominis
sui morigera; eadem semper contemplantibus æquæ est
ab ineunte pueritia ad obeuntem senectam, tot ætatis uices
induit, tam uarias habitudines corporis participat, tot uultus
20 eiusdem lætantis uel dolentis imitatur. enimuero quod
luto fictum uel aere infusum uel lapide incusum uel cera
inustum uel pigmento illitum uel aliq̃ quopiam humano
artificio adsimulatum est, non multa intercapedine temporis
dissimile redditur et ritu cadaueris unum uultum et im-
25 mobilem possidet. tantum præstat artibus ad imaginis simi-
litudinem referendam leuitas illa speculi fabra et splendor
opifex.

15 Aut igitur unius Hagesilai Lacedæmonii sententia nobis
sequenda est, qui se neque pingi neque fingi unquam dif-
fidens formæ suæ passus est, aut si mos omnium cetero-
rum hominum retinendus uidetur in statu et imaginibus
5 non repudiandis, cur existimes imaginem suam cuique
uisendam potius in lapide quam in argento, magis in tabula
quam in speculo? an turpe arbitraris formam suam spe-

14. 7 præmio ϕ : præmia F (a in ras.) 12 diutino F (ino refinxit
al. m.): diutino ϕ (m. al. o in a mut.): diutina $V^1V^3L^3$: diutine
Helm 15 uisitur $F\phi$: uisitetur Helm 17 equeua F in mg.
m. al.: equa F (litt. redint.): $\epsilon\overline{q}ua$ ϕ 21 incusum ed. Junt. 1512:
incussum $F\phi$ 25 artibus ad imaginis similitudinem $Pricaens$:
imaginis artibus ad similitudinem $F\phi$: artibus imaginis ad similitu-
dinem $Meursius$ 26 referendam $Pricaens$: referendum $F\phi$

ctaculo assiduo explorare? an non Socrates philosophus ultro etiam suasisse fertur discipulis suis, crebro ut, semet in speculo contemplarentur, ut, qui eorum foret pulchritudine 10 sibi complacitus, impendio procuraret, ne dignitatem corporis malis moribus dedecoraret, qui uero minus se commendabilem forma putaret, sedulo operam daret, ut uirtutis laude turpitudinem tegeter? adeo uir omnium sapientissimus speculo etiam ad disciplinam morum utebatur. Demos- 15 thenen uero, primum dicendi artificem, quis est qui non sciat semper ante speculum quasi ante magistrum causas meditatam? ita ille summus orator cum a Platone philosopho facundiam hausisset, ab Eubulide dialectico argumentationes edidicisset, nouissimam pronuntiandi congruentiam 20 ab speculo petiuit. utrum igitur putas maiorem curam decoris in adseueranda oratione suscipiendam rhetori iurganti an philosopho obiurganti, apud iudices sorte ductos paulisper disceptanti an apud omnes homines semper disserenti, de finibus agrorum litiganti an de finibus bonorum 25 et malorum docenti? quid, quod nec ob haec debet tantummodo philosophus speculum inuisere? nam saepe oportet non modo similitudinem suam, uerum etiam ipsius similitudinis rationem considerare: num, ut ait Epicurus, profectae a nobis imagines uelut quaedam exuuiae iugi fluore a cor- 30 poribus manantes, cum leue aliquid et solidum offenderunt, illisae reflectantur et retro expressae contrauersim respondeant an, ut alii philosophi disputant, radii nostri seu mediis oculis proliquati et lumini extraneo mixti atque ita uniti, ut Plato arbitratur, seu tantum oculis profecti sine ullo foris 35 amminiculo, ut Archytas putat, seu intentu aëris coacti, ut Stoici rentur, cum alicui corpori inciderunt spisso et splen-

15. 32 contra uersis ϕ : contrauersum V^2 36 aeris *Pithoeus*
Coluius: uersis $F\phi$ coacti *Purser*: facti $F\phi$: fracti *Pithoeus*: farti
Schoene: acti *Helm*

dido et leui, paribus angulis quibus inciderant resultent ad
 faciem suam reduces atque ita, quod extra tangant ac uisant,
 16 id intra speculum imaginentur. uideturne uobis debere
 philosophia haec omnia uestigare et inquirere et cuncta
 specula uel uda uel suda soli uidere? quibus praeter ista
 quae dixi etiam illa ratiocinatio necessaria est, cur in planis
 15 quidem speculis ferme pares obtutus et imagines uideantur,
 (in) tumidis uero et globosis omnia defectiora, at contra
 in cauis auctiora; ubi et cur laeua cum dexteris permutentur;
 quando se imago eodem speculo tum recondat penitus, tum
 foras exserat; cur caua specula, si exaduersum soli retineantur,
 10 appositum fomitem accendant; qui fiat ut arcus in nubibus
 uarie, duo soles aemula similitudine uisuntur, alia praeterea
 eiusdem modi plurima, quae tractat uolumine ingenti Archi-
 medes Syracusanus, uir in omni quidem geometria multum
 ante alios admirabilis subtilitate, sed haud sciam an propter
 15 hoc uel maxime memorandus, quod inspexerat speculum
 saepe ac diligenter. quem tu librum, Aemiliane, si nosses
 ac non modo campo et glebis, uerum etiam abaco et pului-
 sculo te dedisses, mihi istud crede, quanquam teterrimum
 os tuum minimum a Thyesta tragico demutet, tamen pro-
 20 fecto discendi cupidine speculum inuiseres et aliquando
 relicto aratro mirarere tot in facie tua sulcos rugarum.

At ego non mirer, si boni consulis me de isto distortissimo
 uultu tuo dicere, de moribus tuis multo truculentioribus
 reticere. ea res est: praeter quod non sum iurgiosus,
 25 etiam libenter te nuper usque albus an ater esses ignoraui
 et adhuc hercle non satis noui. id adeo factum, quod et tu
 rusticando obscurus es et ego discendo occupatus. ita et
 tibi umbra ignobilitatis a probatore obstitit, et ego numquam

16. 1-2 uidenturne . . . philosophi v 3 uelut uda con. Helm :
 (ac) uel uda Diels soli Fφ: soli non Van der Vliet: solis coniect
 Butler: sollicitate Bywater praeter ista V⁵M¹: praeteris tu Fφ
 6 in add. V⁵ 10 oppositum Casaubonus accendant Bosscha:
 accendunt Fφ 11 duo M¹δ: duos Fφ

studui male facta cuiusquam cognoscere, sed semper potius duxi mea peccata tegere quam aliena indagare. igitur hoc 30 mihi aduersum te usu uenit, quod qui forte constitit in loco lumine collustrato atque eum alter e tenebris prospectat. nam ad eundem modum tu quidem, quid ego in propatulo et celebri agam, facile e tenebris tuis arbitraris, cum ipse humilitate abdita et lucifuga non sis mihi mutuo con- 35 spiciuus.

Ego adeo seruosne tu habeas ad agrum colendum an ipse 17 mutuarias operas cum uicinis tuis cambies, neque scio neque laboro. at tu me scis eadem die tris Oeae manu misisse, idque mihi patronus tuus inter cetera a te sibi edita obiecit, quanquam modico prius dixerat me uno seruo comite Oeam 5 uenisse. quod quidem uelim mihi respondeas, qui potuerim ex uno tris manu mittere, nisi si et hoc magicum est. tantamne esse mentiendi caecitatem dicam an consuetudinem? 'uenit Apuleius Oeam cum uno seruo'; dein pauculis uerbis intergarritis: 'Apuleius Oeae una die tris manu misit.' ne 10 illud quidem credibile fuisset, cum tribus uenisse, omnes liberasse; quod tamen si ita fecissem, cur potius tris seruos inopiae signum putares quam tris libertos opulentiae? nescis profecto, nescis, Aemiliane, philosophum accusare, qui famulitii paucitatem opprobraris, quam ego gloriae causa 15 ementiridebuissem, quippe qui scirem non modo philosophos, quorum me sectatorem fero, uerum etiam imperatores populi Romani paucitate seruorum gloriatos. itane tandem ne haec quidem legere patroni tui: M. Antonium consularem solos octo seruos domi habuisse, Carbonem uero illum, qui rebus 20 potitus est, uno minus, at enim Manio Curio tot adoreis longe incluto, quippe qui ter triumphum una porta egerit,

31 quod *F*φ: quod ei *Novák*

17. 1 seruosne φ (s *ultim. in ras.*): seruorne *F* (*litt. redintegravit et in seriorne mutauit m. al.*) 4 obiecit φ: abiecit *F* (*sed ab litteris redintegratis scripsit m. al.*)

9 uenit φ: dicit *F* (*litteris redintegratis; quid olim fuerit legi non potest*) 21 Marco φ

- ei igitur Manio Curio duos solos in castris calones fuisse?
 ita ille uir de Sabinis deque Samnitibus deque Pyrrho
 25 triumphator paucioris seruos habuit quam triumphos.
 M. autem Cato nihil oppertus, ut alii de se praedicarent,
 ipse in oratione sua scriptum reliquit, cum in Hispaniam
 consul proficisceretur, tris seruos solos ex urbe duxisse;
 quoniam ad uillam publicam uenerat, parum uisum qui
 30 uteretur, iussisse duos pueros in foro de mensa emi, eos
 quinque in Hispaniam duxisse. haec Pudens si legisset, ut
 mea opinio est, aut omnino huic maledicto supersedisset
 aut in tribus seruis multitudinem comitum philosophi quam
 paucitatem reprehendere maluisset.
- 18 Idem mihi etiam paupertatem opprobrait, acceptum
 philosopho crimen et ultro profitendum. enim paupertas olim
 philosophiae uernacula est, frugi, sobria, paruo potens, aemula
 laudis, aduersum diuitias possessa, habitu secura, cultu sim-
 5 plex, consilio benesuada, neminem umquam superbia inflauit,
 neminem impotentia deprauauit, neminem tyrannide efferauit,
 delicias uentris et inguinum neque uult ullas neque potest.
 quippe haec et alia flagitia diuitiarum alumni solent; maxima
 quaeque scelera si ex omni memoria hominum percenseas,
 10 nullum in illis pauperem reperies, ut contra haut temere inter
 illustris uiros diuites comparent, sed quemcunque in aliqua
 laude miramur, eum paupertas ab incunabulis nutrita est.
 paupertas, inquam, prisca aput saecula omnium ciuitatum
 conditrix, omnium artium reperitrix, omnium peccatorum
 15 inops, omnis gloriae munifica, cunctis laudibus apud omnis
 nationes perfuncta. eadem est enim paupertas apud Graecos
 in Aristide iusta, in Phocione benigna, in Epaminonda
 strenua, in Socrate sapiens, in Homero diserta. eadem

23 calones ϕ : colonos *F* (*litteris redintegratis*; *fuit calonos*)
 27 oratione *V^b* et *m. rec. in mg.* ϕ : operatione *F* ϕ hispaniam ϕ :
 hispania *F*

18. 4 diuitiis professa *Casaubonus* 10 haut *Casaubonus*: hanc
F ϕ

paupertas etiam populo Romano imperium a primordio
 fundavit, proque eo in hodiernum diis immortalibus simpulo 20
 et catino fictili sacrificat. quod si modo iudices de causa ista
 sederent C. Fabricius, Gn. Scipio, Manius Curius, quorum
 filiae ob paupertatem de publico dotibus donatae ad maritos
 ierunt portantes gloriam domesticam, pecuniam publicam, si
 Publicola regum exactor et Agrippa populi reconciliator, 25
 quorum funus ob tenuis opes a populo Romano collatis
 sextantibus adornatum est, si Atilius Regulus, cuius agellus
 ob similem penuriam publica pecunia cultus est, si denique
 omnes illae ueteres prosapiae consulares et censoriae et
 triumphales breui usura lucis ad iudicium istud remissae 30
 audirent, auderesne paupertatem philosopho exprobrare apud
 tot consules pauperes? an tibi Claudius Maximus idoneus 19
 auditor uidetur ad irridendam paupertatem, quod ipse uberem
 et prolixam rem familiarem sortitus est? erras, Aemiliane, et
 longe huius animi frustra es, si eum ex fortunae indulgentia,
 non ex philosophiae censura metiris, si uirum tam austerae 5
 sectae tamque diutinae militiae non putas amiciorem esse
 coercitae mediocritati quam delicatae opulentiae, fortunam
 uelut tunicam magis concinnam quam longam probare;
 quippe etiam ea etsi non gestetur et trahatur, nihil minus
 quam lacinia praependens impedit et praecipitat. etenim in 10
 omnibus ad uitae munia utendis quicquid aptam modera-
 tionem supergreditur, oneri potius quam usui exuberat. igitur
 et immodicae diuitiae uelut ingentia et enormia gubernacula
 facilius mergunt quam regunt, quod habent irritam copiam,
 noxiam nimietatem. quin ex ipsis opulentiore eos potissi- 15
 mum uideo laudari, qui nullo strepitu, modico cultu, dissi-
 mulatis facultatibus agunt et diuitias magnas administrant

20 simpulo *F* (in *mg. m. al.* simpuuio): simpuuio ϕ (*ex*) simpulo
mutatum; in *mg. m. al.* sympulo) 22 Marcus ϕ 27 sextantibus
m. al. in ϕ : extantibus *F* ϕ

19. 4 longe huius animi longe es frustra ϕ 9 ea etsi *Van der*
Vliet: etsi ea *Salmasius*: ea si *F* ϕ nihilo *L*¹*V*^b

sine ostentatione, sine superbia, specie mediocritatis pauperum
similes. quod si etiam ditibus ad argumentum modestiae
20 quaeritur imago quaeprim et color paupertatis, cur eius
pudeat tenuioris, qui eam non simulatam, sed uere fungi-
mur?

- 20 Possum equidem tibi et ipsius nominis controuersiam
facere, neminem nostrum pauperem esse qui superuacanea
nolit, possit necessaria, quae natura oppido pauca sunt.
namque is plurimum habebit, qui minimum desiderabit;
5 habebit enim quantum uolet qui uolet minimum. et idcirco
diuitiae non melius in fundis et in fenore quam in ipso
hominis animo aestimantur, qui si est auaritia egenus et ad
omne lucrum inexplebilis, nec montibus auri satiabitur, sed
semper aliquid, ante parta ut augeat, mendicabit. quae qui-
10 dem uera confessio est paupertatis; omnis enim cupido ac-
quirendi ex opinione inopiae uenit, nec refert, quam magnum
sit quod tibi minus est. non habuit tantam rem familiarem
Philus quantam Laelius, nec Laelius quantam Scipio, nec
Scipio quantam Crassus Diues, at enim nec Crassus Diues
15 quantam uolebat; ita cum omnis superaret, a suamet auaritia
superatus est omnibusque potius diues uisus est quam sibi.
at contra hi philosophi quos commemoraui non ultra uolentes
quam poterant, sed congruentibus desideriis et facultatibus
iure meritoque dites et beati fuerunt. pauper enim sis appe-
20 tendi egestate, diues non egendi satietate, quippe qui inopia
desiderio, opulentia fastidio cernuntur. igitur, Aemiliane, si
pauperem me haberi uis, prius auarum esse doceas necesse
est. quod si nihil in animo deest, de rebus extrariis quantum
desit non laboro, quarum neque laus in copia neque culpa in

21 simulatam *L¹AT*: simulata *Fφ*: simulate *M¹δ*: simulato
Acidalius

20. 3 possit *A* (*m² in mg.*) *V¹*: poscit (cit *redintegratis litteris F*)
Fφ 14 Diues (*bis*) *Van der Vliet*: diues (*bis*) *Fφ* 19 sis
AV¹V²δ: scis *F*: scis *φ*: fis *V³M¹*: eris *Rohde*: sies *Hildebrand*
(si es *V²*)

penuria consistit. sed finge haec aliter esse ac me ideo **21**
 pauperem, quia mihi fortuna diuitias inuidit easque, ut ferme
 euenit, aut tutor imminuit aut inimicus eripuit aut pater non
 reliquit: hocine homini opprobriari, pauperiem, quod nulli ex
 animalibus uitio datur, non aquilae, non tauro, non leoni? **5**
 equus si uirtutibus suis polleat, ut sit aequabilis uector et
 cursor pernix, nemo ei penuriam pabuli exprobrat: tu mihi
 uitio dabis non facti uel dicti alicuius prauitatem, sed quod
 uiuo gracili lare, quod paucioris habeo, parcius pasco, leuius
 uestio, minus obsono? atqui ego contra, quantulacumque tibi **10**
 haec uidentur, multa etiam et nimia arbitror et cupio ad
 pauciora me coercere, tanto beatior futurus quanto collectior.
 namque animi ita ut corporis sanitas expedita, imbecillitas
 laciniosa est, certumque signum est infirmitatis pluribus in-
 digere. prorsus ad uiuendum uelut ad natandum is melior, **15**
 qui onere liberior; sunt enim similiter etiam in ista uitae
 humanae tempestate leuia sustentui, grauia demersui. equi-
 dem didici ea re praecedere maxime deos hominibus, quod
 nulla re ad usum sui indigeant, igitur ex nobis cui quam
 minimis opus sit, eum esse deo similiorem. **20**

Proinde gratum habitum (obiecistis, cum) ad contumeliam **22**
 diceretis rem familiarem mihi peram et baculum fuisse.
 quod utinam tantus animi forem, ut praeter eam supellectilem
 nihil quicquam requirerem, sed eundem ornatum digne
 gestarem, quem Crates ultro diuitiis abiectis appetiuit. Crates, **5**
 inquam, si quid credis, Aemiliane, uir domi inter Thebanos
 procures diues et nobilis amore huius habitus, quem mihi
 obiectas, rem familiarem largam et uberem populo donauit,
 multis seruis a sese remotis solitatem delegit, arbores plurimas
 et frugiferas prae uno baculo spreuit, uillas ornatissimas una **10**

21. 16-17 uitae . . . tempestate *m. al. in M¹ Colvius*: uita . . . tem-
 pestates *Fφ* 17 sustentatui *V⁸δ*

22. 1 habitum *Fφ*: habui *Casaubonus* obiecistis cum *add. Beyte*
 2 diceretis] obieceris (*suprascr. cisti*) *M¹* 5 Crates (*bis*) *V⁸T*:
 Socrates (*bis*) *Fφ* 10 prae *F*: pro *φ*

perula mutauit, quam postea comperta utilitate etiam carmine laudauit flexis ad hoc Homericis uorsibus, quibus ille Cretam insulam nobilitat. principium dicam, ne me haec ad defensionem putes confinxisse :

- 15 *πῆρῃ τις πόλις ἐστὶ μέσῳ ἐνὶ οἴνοπι τύφῳ.*
 • iam cetera tam mirifica, quae si tu legisses, magis mihi peram quam nuptias Pudentillae inuidisses. peram et baculum tu philosophis, exprobrares igitur et equitibus phaleras et peditibus clipeos et signiferis uexilla ac denique triumphantibus
 20 quadrigas albas et togam palmatam? non sunt quidem ista Platonicae sectae gestamina, sed Cynicae familiae insignia. uerum tamen hoc Diogeni et Antistheni pera et baculum, quod regibus diadema, quod imperatoribus paludamentum, quod pontificibus galerum, quod lituus auguribus. Diogenes
 25 quidem Cynicus cum Alexandro magno de ueritate regni certabundus baculo uice sceptri gloriabatur. ipse denique Hercules inuictus—quoniam haec tibi ut quaedam mendicabula nimis sordent—, ipse inquam Hercules lustrator orbis, purgator ferarum, gentium domitor, is tamen deus, cum
 30 terras peragraret, paulo prius quam in caelum ob uirtutes ascitus est, neque una pelli uestitior fuit neque uno baculo comitator.
- 23 Quod si haec exempla nihili putas ac me non ad causam agundam, uerum ad censum disserundum uocasti, ne quid tu rerum mearum nescias, si tamen nescis, profiteor mihi ac fratri meo relictum a patre $\overline{\text{hs}} \overline{\text{xx}}$ paulo secus, idque a me longa
 5 peregrinatione et diutinis studiis et crebris liberalitatibus mo-

15 *πῆρῃ κτλ. Diog. Laert.* (6. 5. 2): *Κρηθητιςπολις· ἐτ πμελω | ἐνιοινοπιτυ· φωτcontw* *F* (*Κρηth et tcontw (πόντῳ) ex Od.* xix. 172): caeruleo in medio quaedam urbs est insula ponto | pulcra et opima *V*⁵ 16 iam] etiam *Diels*: mittam *add. Wachsmuth* tam delet *Diels* 18 exprobrares *Fφ*: exprobras *L*³*DT*: exprobraris *M*¹: exprobrare *v*: (exprobras), exprobrares *Krüger* 19 ac *Helm*: te *Fφ*: et *v* 28 nimis *Colvius*: animis *Fφ*: animi *V*⁵*M*¹*T*

23. 2 sensum *Fφ* (*sed in φ c suprascr. m. al.*) 4 $\overline{\text{hs}}$] ff *F*: ff *φ* 5 (haud) modice *Vulcanius*: (non) modice *Casaubonus*

dice imminutum. nam et amicorum plerisque openi tuli et magistris plurimis gratiam retuli, quorundam etiam filias dote auxi; neque enim dubitassem equidem uel uniuersum patrimonium impendere, ut acquirerem mihi quod maius est contemptu patrimonii. tu uero, Aemiliane, et id genus homines 10 uti tu es inculti et agrestes, tanti re uera estis quantum habetis, ut arbor infecunda et infelix, quae nullum fructum ex sese gignit, tanti est in pretio, quanti lignum eius in trunco. at tamen parce postea, Aemiliane, paupertatem cuipiam obiectare, qui nuper usque agellum Zarathensem, quem tibi 15 unicum pater tuus reliquerat, solus uno asello ad tempestium imbrem triduo exarabas. neque enim diu est, cum te crebrae mortes propinquorum immeritis hereditatibus fulserunt, unde tibi potius quam ob istam teterrimam faciem Charon nomen est. 20

De patria mea uero, quod eam sitam Numidiae et Gaetuliae 24 in ipso confinio meis scriptis ostendistis, quibus memet professus sum, cum Lolliano Auito c. u. praesente publice dissererem, Seminumidam et Semigaetulum, non uideo quid mihi sit in ea re pudendum, haud magis quam Cyro maiori, 5 quod genere mixto fuit Semimedes ac Semipersa. non enim ubi prognatus, sed ut moratus quisque sit spectandum, nec qua regione, sed qua ratione uitam uiuere inierit, considerandum est. holitori et cauponi merito est concessum holus et uinum ex nobilitate soli commendare, uinum Thasium, 10 holus Phliasium; quippe illa terrae alumna multum ad meliorem saporem iuuerit et regio fecunda et caelum pluuium et uentus clemens et sol apricus et solum succidum. enimuero animo hominis extrinsecus in hospitium corporis immigranti

9 contemptum *V*¹ et *m. rec.* *V*² 13 quantum *Kronenberg*
 20 nomen *M*¹*V*⁵; numen *F*φ
 24. 2 meis *L*³*M*¹: mei *F*φ ostendistis *Rohde*: ostendi scis *F*φ:
 ostendisti *Casaubonus* 3 c. u v: cū *F*φ 4 semigetulum φ:
 semigetulam *F* 5 magis *Van der Vliet*: minus *F*φ quam delet
Sauppe: inquam *H. Müller* 7 spectandum est φ

15 quid ex istis addi uel minui ad uirtutem uel malitiam potest?
 quando non in omnibus gentibus uaria ingenia prouenere,
 quanquam uideantur quaedam stultitia uel sollertia in-
 signiores? apud socordissimos Scythas Anacharsis sapiens
 natus est, apud Athenienses catos Meletides fatuus. nec hoc
 20 eo dixi, quo me patriae meae paeniteret, etsi adhuc Syfacis
 oppidum essemus. quo tamen uicto ad Masinissam regem
 munere populi Romani concessimus ac deinceps uetera-
 norum militum nouo conditu splendidissima colonia sumus,
 in qua colonia patrem habui loco principis 11 uiralem cunctis
 25 honoribus perfunctum; cuius ego locum in illa re publica,
 exinde ut participare curiam coepi, nequaquam degener pari,
 spero, honore et existimatione tueor. cur ergo illa protuli? ut
 mihi tu, Aemiliane, minus posthac suscenseas, potiusque ut
 ueniam impertias, si per neglegentiam forte non elegi illud
 30 tuum Atticum Zarath, ut in eo nascerer.

25 Nonne uos puduit est haec crimina tali uiro audiente tam
 adseuerate obiectare, friuola et inter se repugnantia simul
 promere et utraque tamen reprehendere? at non contraria
 accusastis? peram et baculum ob austeritatem, carmina et
 5 speculum ob hilaritatem, unum seruum ut parci, tris liberos
 ut profusi, praeterea eloquentiam Graecam, patriam barbaram?
 quin igitur tandem expergiscimini ac uos cogitatis apud
 Claudium Maximum dicere, apud uirum seuerum et totius
 prouinciae negotiis occupatum? quin, inquam, uana haec
 10 conuicia aufertis? quin ostenditis quod insimulauistis, scelera
 immania et inconcessa maleficia et artis nefandas? cur uestra
 oratio rebus flaccet, strepitu uiget?

Aggredior enim iam ad ipsum crimen magiae, quod ingenti
 tumultu ad inuidiam mei accensum frustrata expectatione

22 P. R. ¹ φ: poplis F 23 conditu ed. Ven.: conditus Fφ
 26 pari] patri φ 30 Zarath Fφ, sed confer Zarathensem c. 23. 15
 eo φ: ea F

25. 4 austeritatem Fulvius Ursinus: auctoritatem Fφ 11 immania
 M¹T et marg. m. rec. φ: immunia Fφ

omnium per nescio quas anilis fabulas defraglauit. ecquan- 15
done uidisti, Maxime, flammam stipula exortam claro crepitu,
largo fulgore, cito incremento, sed enim materia leui, caduco
incendio, nullis reliquiis? em tibi illa accusatio iurgiis inita,
uerbis aucta, argumentis defecta, nullis post sententiam tuam
reliquiis calumniae permansura. quae quidem omnis Aemi- 20
liano fuit in isto uno destinata, me magum esse, et ideo mihi
libet quaerere ab eruditissimis eius aduocatis, quid sit
magus.

Nam si, quod ego apud plurimos lego, Persarum lingua
magus est qui nostra sacerdos, quod tandem est crimen, 25
sacerdotem esse et rite nosse atque scire atque callere leges
caerimoniarum, fas sacrorum, ius religionum? si quidem magia
id est quod Plato interpretatur, cum commemorat, quibusnam
disciplinis puerum regno adolescentem Persae imbuant—
uerba ipsa diuini uiri memini, quae tu mecum, Maxime, re- 30
cognosce: δις ἑπτὰ δὲ γενόμενον ἐτῶν τὸν παῖδα παραλαμβάνου-
σιν οὓς ἐκείνοι βασιλείους παιδαγωγοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν· εἰσὶν δὲ
ἐξειλεγμένοι Περσῶν οἱ ἄριστοι δόξαντες ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τέτταρες, ὃ τε
σοφώτατος καὶ ὁ δικαιοτάτος καὶ ὁ σωφρονέστατος καὶ ὁ ἀν-
δρειώτατος. ὧν ὁ μὲν μαγείαν τε διδάσκει τὴν Ζωροάστρου τοῦ 35
᾽Ωρομάζου· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο θεῶν θεραπεία· διδάσκει δὲ καὶ τὰ
βασιλικά. auditisne magian, qui eam temere accusatis, 26
artem esse dis immortalibus acceptam, colendi eos ac uene-
randi pergnaram, piam scilicet et diuini scientem, iam inde

15 deflagrauit φ ecquando φ : etquando F 24 ego *codd. dett.*
et m. al. in φ : ago Fφ 25 tandem v : tamen Fφ 26 nosse φ :
nosce F (c lineis deleuit, s *suprascripts. m. al.*) : noscere L³ 31-37 δις
ἑπτὰ δὲ κτλ. *Plat. Alcib. i. 121 E* : dicentia de re nomenon & antonitē data
| λυμβανοῦσιν οὐ ἐκεῖνοι βασιλεῖοις παιδαγωγούς ὀνομαζοῦσι |
| ἀεξελεγμένοι (*supra paenult. e scriptum est h*) τετραῦμοι ἀριστοῖο |
| ξαντεςενκ λικιατε παρεσοτεσοφε | (*supra ult. o scriptum est ω*) το
καὶ οδικοῖατος καὶ οσωαφρω | νιστατος καὶ ο ἀνδριοτατος υπομεν
μαγειων τε διδασκει τὴν ζωροαστροῦτο | γωρομαζεσπ—δετοι-
τοθεωνθεραπια διδασκει δε καὶ τα βοιλικα F *γενομένων codd. Clark.*
et Marc. : γενόμενον Buttmann

26. 1 magian *scripsimus* : magiam Fφ (*cp. c. 31. 5*)

a Zoroastre et Oromaze auctoribus suis nobilem, caelitum
 5 antistitam, quippe qui inter prima regalia docetur nec ulli
 temere inter Persas concessum est magum esse, haud magis
 quam regnare. idem Plato in alia sermocinatione de Zalmoxi
 quodam Thraci generis, sed eiusdem artis uiro ita scriptum
 reliquit: τὰς δὲ ἐπὶ ᾧ εἶναι τοὺς λόγους τοὺς καλοὺς. quod
 10 si ita est, cur mihi nosse non liceat uel Zalmoxi bona uerba
 uel Zoroastri sacerdotia? sin uero more uulgari eum isti
 proprie magum existimant, qui communione loquendi cum
 deis immortalibus ad omnia quae uelit incredibili quadam ui
 cantaminum polleat, oppido miror, cur accusare non timuerint
 15 quem posse tantum fatentur. neque enim tam occulta et
 diuina potentia cauere potest itidem ut cetera. sicarium qui
 in iudicium uocat, comitatus uenit; qui uenenarium accusat,
 scrupulosius cibatur; qui furem arguit, sua custodit. enim-
 uero qui magum qualem isti dicunt in discrimen capitis
 20 deducit, quibus comitibus, quibus scrupulis, quibus custodi-
 bus perniciem caecam et ineuitabilem prohibeat? nullis
 scilicet; et ideo id genus crimen non est eius accusare, qui
 27 credit. uerum haec ferme communi quodam errore imperi-
 torum philosophis obiectantur, ut partim eorum qui corporum
 causas meras et simplicis rimantur irreligiosos putent eoque
 aiant deos abnuere, ut Anaxagoram et Leucippum et Demo-
 5 critum et Epicurum ceterosque rerum naturae patronos, par-
 tim autem, qui prouidentiam mundi curiosius uestigant et
 impensius deos celebrant, eos uero uulgo magos nominent,
 quasi facere etiam sciant quae sciant fieri, ut olim fuere
 Epimenides et Orpheus et Pythagoras et Ostanes, ac dein
 10 similiter suspectata Empedocli catharmoe, Socrati daemonion,
 Platonis τὸ ἀγαθόν. gratulor igitur mihi, cum et ego tot ac
 tantis uiris adnumeror.

4 oromazo v 9 τὰς δὲ κτλ. *Plat. Charmid.* 157A τὰς δὲ ποδὰς
 εἰνυποιστολογοῦς τοὺς καλοὺς 13 incredibili *Casaubonus*: incredi-
 bilia *Fφ*

27. 2 eos in *mg.* φ *m. al.*

Ceterum ea quae ab illis ad ostendendum crimen obiecta
 sunt uana et inepta simpliciter uereor, ne ideo tantum crimina
 putes, quod obiecta sunt. 'cur' inquit 'piscium quaedam 15
 genera quaesisti?' quasi id cognitionis gratia philosopho
 facere non liceat, quod luxurioso gulae causa liceret. 'cur
 mulier libera tibi nupsit post annos XIII uiduitatis?' quasi
 non magis mirandum sit quod tot annis non nupserit. 'cur
 prius, quam tibi nuberet, scripsit nescio quid in epistula quod 20
 sibi uidebatur?' quasi quisquam debeat causas alienae
 sententiae reddere. 'at enim maior natu non est iuuenem
 aspernata.' igitur hoc ipsum argumentum est nihil opus
 magia fuisse, ut nubere uellet mulier uiro, uidua caelibus,
 maior iuniori. iam et illa similia: 'habet quiddam Apuleius 25
 domi quod sancte colit': quasi non id potius crimen sit,
 quod colas non habere. 'cecidit praesente Apuleio puer.'
 quid enim, si iuuenis, quid, si etiam senex adsistente me
 corruisset uel morbo corporis impeditus uel lubrico soli
 prolapsus? hiscine argumentis magian probatis, casu 30
 pueruli et matrimonio mulieris et obsonio piscium?

Possem equidem bono periculo uel his dictis contentus 28
 perorare: quoniam mihi pro accusationis longitudine largiter
 aquae superest, cedo, si uidetur, singula consideremus. atque
 ego omnia obiecta, seu uera seu falsa sunt, non negabo, sed
 perinde atque si facta sint fatebor, ut omnis ista multitudo, 5
 quae plurima undique ad audiendum conuenit, aperte intelle-
 gat nihil in philosophos non modo uere dici, sed ne falso
 quidem posse confingi, quod non ex innocentiae fiducia,
 quamuis liceat negare, tamen potius habeant defendere.
 primum igitur argumenta eorum conuincam ac refutabo nihil 10
 ea ad magian pertinere; dein etsi maxime magus forem,

14 et om. *M*¹ inepte *Bywater* (qui simplicia tuetur) simpliciter
Helm Diels: simplicia *F*φ: (et) simplicia *v*: (ac) simplicia *Hildebrand*:
 (et) similia *Scioppius*: simplicia *del. Novák* uereor *F*φ: oro *Diels*:
 (haud) uereor *Jahn* 31 pueruli *Salmasius*: puerili *F*φ

28. 2 quoniam tamen *V*⁵ 3 aquae (t *suprascr. m. al.*) *F*: atque φ

tamen ostendam neque causam ullam neque occasionem
 fuisse, ut me in aliquo maleficio experirentur. ibi etiam de
 falsa invidia deque epistulis mulieris perperam lectis et ne-
 15 quius interpretatis deque matrimonio meo ac Pudentillae
 disputabo, idque a me susceptum officii gratia quam lucri
 causa docebo. quod quidem matrimonium nostrum Aemi-
 liano huic immane quanto angori quantaque diuidiae fuit ;
 inde omnis huiusce accusationis obeundae ira et rabies et
 20 denique insania exorta est. quae si omnia palam et dilucide
 ostendero, tunc denique te, Claudī Maxime, et omnis qui ad-
 sunt contestabor puerum illum Sicinium Pudentem priuignum
 meum, cuius obtentu et uoluntate a patruo eius accusor,
 nuperrime curae meae ereptum, postquam frater eius Pontia-
 25 nus et natu maior et moribus melior diem suum obiit, atque
 ita in me ac matrem suam nefarie efferatum, non mea culpa,
 desertis liberalibus studiis ac repudiata omni disciplina,
 scelestis accusationis huius rudimentis patruo Aemiliano
 potius quam fratri Pontiano similem futurum.

29 Nunc, ut institui, proficiscar ad omnia Aemiliani huiusce
 deliramenta orsus ab eo, quod ad suspicionem magiae quasi
 ualidissimum in principio dici animaduertisti, nonnulla me
 piscium genera per quosdam piscatores pretio quaesisse.
 5 utrum igitur horum ad suspectandam magian ualet ? quodne
 piscatores mihi piscem quaesierunt ? scilicet ergo phrygioni-
 bus aut fabris negotium istud dandum fuisse atque ita opera
 cuiusque artis permutanda, si uellem calumniis uestris uitare,
 ut faber mihi piscem euerreret, ut piscator mutuo lignum
 10 dedolaret. an ex eo intellexistis maleficio quaeri pisciculos,
 quod pretio quaerebantur ? credo, si conuiuio uellem, gratis
 quaesissem. quin igitur etiam ex aliis plerisque me arguitis ?
 nam saepe numero et uinum et holus et pomum et panem
 pretio mutaui. eo pacto cuppedinariis omnibus famem

14 falsa *M*¹φ : falso *F* et ex corr. φ

16 {potius} quam *ed. Ald.*

24 ereptum *codd. dett. m. al. in mg. φ* : eruptum *Fφ* fortasse recte

decernis ; quis enim ab illis obsonare audebit, si quidem 15
statuitur omnia edulia quae depenso parantur non cenae, sed
magiae desiderari ? quod si nihil remanet suspicionis, neque
in piscatoribus mercede inuitatis ad quod solent, ad piscem
capiundum, (quos tamen nullos ad testimonium producere,
quippe qui nulli fuerunt), neque in ipso pretio rei uenalis 20
(cuius tamen quantitatem nullam taxauere, ne, si mediocre
pretium dixissent, contemneretur, si plurimum, non crederetur)—si in his, ut dico, nulla suspicio est, respondeat mihi
Aemilianus, quo proximo signo ad accusationem magiae sit
inductus. 25

‘Pisces’ inquit ‘quaeris.’ nolo negare. sed, oro te, qui 30
pisces quaerit, magus est ? equidem non magis arbitror quam
si lepores quaererem uel apros uel altilia. an soli pisces
habent aliquid occultum aliis, sed magis cognitum ? hoc si
scis quid sit, magus es profecto ; sin nescis, confitearis necesse 5
est id te accusare quod nescis. tam rudis uos esse omnium
litterarum, omnium denique uulgi fabularum, ut ne fingere
quidem possitis ista ueri similiter ? quid enim competit ad
amoris ardorem accendendum piscis brutus et frigidus aut
omnino res pelago quaesita ? nisi forte hoc uos ad menda- 10
cium induxit, quod Venus dicitur pelago exorta. audi sis,
Tannoni Pudens, quam multa nescieris, qui de piscibus
argumentum magiae recepisti. at si Vergilium legisses, pro-
fecto scisses alia quaeri ad hanc rem solere ; ille enim quan-
tum scio enumerat uittas mollis et uerbenas pinguis et tura 15
mascula et licia discolora, praeterea laurum fragilem, limum
durabilem, ceram liquabilem, nec minus quae iam in opere
serio scripsit :

falcibus et messae ad lunam quaeruntur aenis
pubentes herbae nigri cum lacte ueneni. 20

29. 16 parantur ϕ : parātur *F* (sed lineam add. m. al.) 18 ad
piscem capiundum del. *Scriuerius* 21 nullam ϕ (u in a mut. m. al.) :
nullum *F* (fuit fortasse a)

30. 8 similia ϕ

quaeritur et nascentis equi de fronte reuulsus
et matri praereptus amor.

at tu piscium insimulator longe diuersa instrumenta magis
attribuis, non frontibus teneris detergenda, sed dorsis squa-
25 lentibus excidenda, nec fundo reuellenda, sed profundo extra-
henda, nec falcibus metenda, sed hamis inuncanda. postre-
mo in maleficio ille uenenum nominat, tu pulmentum, ille
herbas et surculos, tu squamas et ossa, ille pratum decerpit,
tu fluctum scrutaris. memorassem tibi etiam Theocriti paria
30 et alia Homeri et Orphei plurima, et ex comoediis et tragoe-
diis Graecis et ex historiis multa repetissem, ni te dudum
animaduertissem Graecam Pudentillae epistulam legere
nequiuisse. igitur unum etiam poetam Latinum attingam ;
(en) uorsus ipsos, quos agnoscent qui Laeuium legere :

35 philtrā omnia undique eruunt :
 antipathes illud quaeritur,
 trochiscili, unguēs, taeniae,
 radiculae, herbae, surculi,
 saurae inlices bicodulae,
40 hinnientium dulcedines.

31 haec et alia quaesisse me potius quam pisces longe ueri simi-
lius confinxisses (his etenim fortasse per famam peruulgatam
fides fuisset), si tibi ulla eruditio adfuisset ; enimuero pisces
ad quam rem facit captus nisi ad epulas coctus ? ceterum
5 ad magian nihil quicquam uidetur mihi adiutare. dicam
unde id coniectem. Pythagoram plerique Zoroastri sectato-
rem similiterque magiae peritum arbitrati tamen memoriae
prodiderunt, cum animaduertisset proxime Metapontum in

24 detegenda *L*² 29-30 paria⁷ et alia⁷ *F* (7 add. al. m.) :
pa*ria* φ (*fuit patria uel patriā*) 34 en add. *Pricaeus* ipsos]
dicam add. *Rohde* quos] del. *Salmasius* Laeuium *Lipsius* :
lelium *F*φ 36 antipathes *Pius* : antiphates *F*φ 37 unguēs
φ : unguēs *F* 38-39 surculi, saurāe *Salmasius* : surculis aurē *F*φ
40 hinnientium *M*¹*L*³ : hinnientium *F*φ

31. 5 magian φ : magiam *F* (*litt. redintegratis*) quicquam *Salma-*
sius : quanquam *F*φ : quemquam *Beyte* : quaquam *Plasberg*

litore Italiae suae, quam subsiciam Graeciam fecerat, a quibusdam piscatoribus euerriculum trahi, fortunam iactus eius 10
emisse et pretio dato iussisse ilico piscis eos, qui capti tenebantur, solui retibus et reddi profundo; quos scilicet eum de manibus amissurum non fuisse, si quid esse in his utile ad magian comperisset. sed enim uir egregie doctus et ueterum aemulator meminerat Homerum, poetam multiscium uel 15
potius cunctarum rerum adprime peritum, uim omnem medicaminum non mari, sed terrae ascripsisse, cum de quadam saga ad hunc modum memorauit:

ἡ τόσα φάρμακα ἦδη, ὅσα τρέφει εὐρεῖα χθών
itemque alibi carminum similiter:

20

τῇ πλείστα φέρει ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα
φαρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά,
cum tamen numquam apud eum marino aliquo et pisculento medicauit nec Proteus faciem nec Vlixes scrobem nec
Aeolus follem nec Helena creterram nec Circe poculum nec 25
Venus cingulum. at uos soli reperti estis ex omni memoria, qui uim herbarum et radicum et surculorum et lapillorum quasi quadam colluione naturae de summis montibus in mare transferatis et penitus piscium uentribus insuatis. igitur ut solebat ad magorum caerimonias aduocari Mercurius 30
carminum uector et illex animi Venus et Luna noctium conscia et manium potens Triuia, uobis auctoribus posthac Neptunus cum Salacia et Portuno et omni chorō Nerei ab aestibus fretorum ad aestus amorum transferentur.

9 quibusdam φ: quibus dum F 11 emisse φ: emissae (*suprascr. em*) F (*litt. redintegratis; quid fuerit, legi non potest*) 13 emissurum φ (e ex a) fuisse φ: fuisset F quid esse (ἐε) Plasberg: quidem F (*litt. redintegratis*): quid * φ (e eraso) 15 meminerat F (*litt. redintegratis; fuit -rit. in mg. rat et supra meminerat mm. aliae*): meminerat φ 17 mari] maris Groslotius qui scripsisse tuetur ascripsisse Casaubonus: scripsisset F: scripsisse φ 19 ἡ τόσα κτλ. Hom. Il. xi. 741: ἠτοσαφαρμακα hdei οσατρεφει ευρειαχθων F 21-22 τῇ πλείστα κτλ. Od. iv. 229: τῇ πλείστα φειρει ζειδωρος αρουρα φαρμακα πολλαμενεσθλαμεμι (i in ras.) μανα πολλα de λυγρα F 31 carminum auctor Groslotius: c. inuentor Stewech: animarum uector Scaliger: a. euocator Acidalius: manium uector Scioppius 33 nereidū F (*dū add. m. rec.*): nereidum φ

- 32 Dixi, cur non arbitrer quicquam negotii esse magis et piscibus. nunc, si uidetur, credamus Aemiliano solere pisces etiam ad magicas potestates adiutare. num ergo propterea quicumque quaerit et ipse magus est? eo qui-
 5 dem pacto et qui myoparonem quaesierit pirata erit et qui uectem perfossor et qui gladium sicarius. nihil in rebus omnibus tam innoxium dices, quin id possit aliquid aliqua obesse, nec tam laetum, quin possit ad tristitudinem intellegi. nec tamen omnia idcirco ad nequiores
 10 suspicionem trahuntur, ut si tus et casiam et myrram ceterosque id genus odores funeri tantum emptos arbitreris, cum et medicamento parentur et sacrificio. ceterum eodem piscium argumento etiam Menelai socios putabis magos fuisse, quos ait poeta praecipuus flexis hamulis apud Pharum
 15 insulam famem propulsasse; etiam mergos et delphinos et scillam tu eodem referes, etiam gulones omnes, qui impendio a piscatoribus merguntur, etiam ipsos piscatores, qui omnium generum piscis arte adquirunt. 'cur ergo tu quaeris?' nolo equidem nec necessarium habeo tibi dicere, sed per te,
 20 si potes, ad hoc quaesisse me argue; ut si elleborum uel cicutam uel sucum papaueris emissem, item alia eiusdem modi quorum moderatus usus salutaris, sed commixtio uel quantitas noxia est, quis aequo animo pateretur, si me per haec ueneficii arcesseres, quod ex illis potest homo occidi?
 33 Videamus tamen, quae fuerint piscium genera tam necessaria ad habendum tamque rara ad reperiendum, ut merito statuto praemio quaererentur. tria omnino nominauerunt, unum falsi, duo mentiti; falsi, quod leporem
 5 marinum fuisse dixerunt qui alius omnino piscis fuit,

32. 4 quaerit] quaerit piscem *V*⁵ 9 sequiorem *Brantius*
 17 mercantur *V*⁶ 18 cur . . . quaeris? *M*¹*V*⁵: cu- . . . quaeris?
 φ (] et? *add. m. al.*): cū . . . quaeris *F* 21 papauerit φ (papaueris
m. rec. in mg.)

33. 3 statu^{10*} *F* (-to *m. al.*): statuto φ: stato *L*² *Rosbach* nomi-
 nauerunt *L*³*M*¹: nominauerant *F*φ

quem mihi Themison seruus noster medicinae non ignarus, ut ex ipso audisti, ultro attulit ad inspiciendum; nam quidem leporem nondum etiam inuenit. sed profiteor me quaerere et cetera, non piscatoribus modo, uerum etiam amicis meis negotio dato, quicumque minus cogniti 10 generis piscis inciderit, ut eius mihi aut formam commemovent aut ipsum uiuum, si id nequierint, uel mortuum ostendant. quam ob rem id faciam, mox docebo. mentiti autem sunt callidissimi accusatores mei, ut sibi uidentur, cum me ad finem calumniae confinxerunt duas res marinas 15 impudicis uocabulis quaesisse, quas Tannonius ille cum utriusque sexus genitalia intellegi uellet, sed eloqui propter infantiam causidicus summus nequiret, multum ac diu haesitato tandem uirile marinum nescio qua circumlocutione male ac sordide nominauit, sed enim feminal nullo 20 pacto reperiens munditer dicere ad mea scripta confugit et quodam libro meo legit: 'interfeminium tegat et femoris obiectu et palmae uelamento.'

Hic etiam pro sua grauitate uitio mihi uortebat, quod 34 me nec sordidiora dicere honeste pigeret. at ego illi contra iustius exprobrarim, quod qui eloquentiae patrocinium uulgo profiteatur etiam honesta dictu sordide blateret ac saepe in rebus nequaquam difficilibus fringuliat uel omnino 5 ommutescat. cedo enim, si ego de Veneris statua nihil dixissem neque interfeminium nominassem, quibus tandem uerbis accusasses crimen illud tam stultitiae quam linguae tuae congruens? an quicquam stultius quam ex nominum propinquitate uim similem rerum coniectam? et fortasse 10 an peracute repperisse uobis uidebamini, ut quaesisse me

6 Themison seruus *Lipsius*: themis conseruus *Fφ* 8 inueni
Groslotius 15 finem] fidem *Fuluius Ursinus* 22 et (e)
 quodam *v*

34. 7 interfeminium *v*: interfemineum *M¹V⁵*: interfeminam *F*
 (i *super a add.*): interfeminam *φ*: interfeminia *Hildebrand* 10
 coniectari *φ* in *mg. m. rec.* 11 ut quaesisse *Salmasius e cod.*: at
 quaesisse *F*: acquisisse *φ*: si quaesisse *M¹*

- fingeretis ad illecebras magicas duo haec marina, uere-
tillam et uirginal; disce enim nomina rerum Latina, quae
propterea uarie nominaui, ut denuo instructus accuses.
- 15 memento tamen tam ridiculum argumentum fore desiderata
ad res uenerias marina obscena, quam si dicas marinum
pectinem comendo capillo quaesitum uel aucupandis uolan-
tibus piscem accipitrem aut uenandis apris piscem apri-
culum aut eliciendis mortuis marina caluaria. respondeo
- 20 igitur ad hunc uestrum locum non minus insulse quam
absurde commentum, me hasce nugas marinas et quiscilias
litoralis neque pretio neque gratis quaesisse.
- 35 Illud etiam praeterea respondeo, nescisse uos, quid a
me quaesitum fingeretis. haec enim friuola quae nomi-
nastis pleraque in litoribus omnibus congestim et acer-
uatim iacent et sine ullius opera quamlibet leuiter motis
- 5 flucticulis ultro foras euoluuntur. quin ergo dicitis me
eadem opera pretio impenso per plurimos piscatores
quaesisse de litore conchulam striatam testam habentem,
calculum teretem, praeterea cancrorum furcas, echinorum
caliculos, lolliginum ligulas, postremo assulas, festucas,
- 10 resticulas et ostrea †Pergami † uermiculata, denique muscum
et algam, cetera maris eiectionamenta, quae ubique litorum
uentis expelluntur, salo exspuuntur, tempestate reciprocantur,
tranquillo deseruntur? neque enim minus istis quae com-
memorauī accommodari possunt similiter ex uocabulo
- 15 suspiciones. posse dicitis ad res uenerias sumpta de mari
spuria et fascina propter nominum similitudinem: qui
minus possit ex eodem litore calculus ad uesicam, testa

21 quiscilias *Helm*: quisquillas *M*¹: quiscillas *F*φ

35. 6 plurimos *V*⁵*M*¹ et *m. rec. in mg.* φ: plurimisos *F*φ 7 con-
chulam *M*¹*V*⁵: conchalam *F*φ: concham *T* habentem *F*φ: hebetem
*V*⁵ 8 echinorum *v*: echinum *F*φ 10 et ostrea pergami
uermiculata *F*φ; *locus nondum sanatus*: ne ostrea pergami uermiculata
Helm: et ostreorum terga uermiculata *Brantius*: et ostrea peregrina
uermiculata *Triller* Pergami *del. Lennep* 11 litorum *F*φ (*in*
F m. al. in locorum mutauit) 17 calculus *M*¹*V*⁵*T*: calculos *F*φ

ad testamentum, cancer ad ulcera, alga ad querceram?
 ne tu, Claudī Maxime, nimis patiens uir es et oppido
 proxima humanitate, qui hasce eorum argumentationes 20
 diu hercle perpressus sis; equidem, cum haec ab illis quasi
 grauiā et uincibilia dicerentur, illorum stultitiā ridebam,
 tuam patientiā mirabar.

Ceterum quam ob rem plurimos iam piscis cognouerim, 36
 quorundam adhuc nescius esse nolim, discat Aemilianus,
 quoniam usque adeo rebus meis curat; quanquam est
 iam praecipiti aeuo et occidua senectute, tamen, si uidetur,
 accipiat doctrinā seram plane et postumā; legat uete- 5
 rum philosophorum monumenta, tandem ut intellegat non
 me primum haec requisisse, sed iam pridem maiores meos,
 Aristotelen dico et Theophrastum et Eudemum et Lyco-
 nem ceterosque Platonis minores, qui plurimos libros de
 genitu animalium deque uictu deque particulis deque omni 10
 differentiā reliquerunt. bene quod apud te, Maxime, causā
 agitur, qui pro tua eruditione legisti profecto Aristotelis
 περὶ ζώων γενέσεως, περὶ ζώων ἀνατομῆς, περὶ ζώων ἱστορίας
 multiiuga uolumina, praeterea problemata innumera eius-
 dem, tum ex eadem secta ceterorum, in quibus id genus 15
 uaria tractantur. quae tanta cura conquisita si honestum
 et gloriosum illis fuit scribere, cur turpe sit nobis ex-
 periri, praesertim cum ordinatius et cohibilius eadem
 Graece et Latine adnitar conscribere et in omnibus aut
 omīssa acquirere aut defecta supplere? permittite, si 20
 opera est, quaedam legi de magicis meis, ut sciat me
 Aemilianus plura quam putat quaerere et sedulo explorare.
 prome tu librum e Graecis meis, quos forte hic amici

18 querqueram Coluius: quercerum Fφ 20 proxima Fφ:
 proluxa Stewech. alia alii frustra coniecere

36. 13 γενέσεω F ἀνατομῆς F 14 ante eiusdem in F hiatus est,
 sed nihil omīssum 15 secta m. al. in mg. φ: recta Fφ 19 adnitar
 M¹V⁵: adnīt F: adnītū φ 21 operaest Helm (-ae est Scriuerius)
 22 quam M¹V¹AL³: quā φ, sed ē suprascr. eadem manus: quē F

habuere sedulique, naturalium quaestionum, atque eum
 25 maxime, in quo plura de piscium genere tractata sunt.
 interea, dum hic quaerit, ego exemplum rei competens
 dixero.

37 Sophocles poeta Euripidi aemulus et superstes, uixit
 enim ad extremam senectam, cum igitur accusaretur a
 filio suomet dementiae, quasi iam per aetatem desiperet,
 protulisse dicitur Coloneum suam, peregregiam tragoedia-
 5 rum, quam forte tum in eo tempore conscribebat, eam
 iudicibus legisse nec quicquam amplius pro defensione
 sua addidisse, nisi ut audacter dementiae condemnarent,
 si carmina senis displicerent. ibi ego comperior omnis
 iudices tanto poetae adsurrexisse, miris laudibus eum
 10 tulisse ob argumenti sollertiam et coturnum facundiae,
 nec ita multum omnis afuisse quin accusatorem potius
 dementiae condemnarent.

Inuenisti tu librum? beasti. cedo enim experiamur, an
 et mihi possint in iudicio litterae meae prodesse. lege
 15 pauca de principio, dein quaedam de piscibus. at tu
 interea, dum legit, aquam sustine.—

38 Audisti, Maxime, quorum pleraque scilicet legeras apud
 antiquos philosophorum. et memento de solis piscibus
 haec uolumina a me conscripta, qui eorum coitu progignan-
 tur, qui ex limo coalescant, quotiens et quid anni cuiusque
 5 eorum generis feminae subent, mares suriant, quibus mem-
 bris et causis discerit natura uiuiparos eorum et ouiparos—
 ita enim Latine appello quae Graeci ζωτόκα et ὠτόκα—et,
 ne operose animalium genitum pergam, deinde de differentia

37. 4 peregregiam *M¹T*: peregregium *Fφ* 8 comperior omnis
V⁶: comperio Romanis *Fφ* 10 cothurni facundiam *Fulvius Ursinus*
 16 legit, aquam *ed. Junt. posterior*: legit tanquam *φ*: legit ta quā quā
F (in mg. d.)

38. 5 subentant *Fφ (ex subent mutauit F)* 7 ζωτοκαειωστοκα *F*
 8 operose *ed. Junt. posterior*: perose *Fφ*: per omnes *Casaubonus*
 genitum *Bosscha*: genita *Fφ*: genitus *Casaubonus*: genituras *Jahn*
 (genitura *M¹*)

et uictu et membris et aetatibus ceterisque plurimis scitu
quidem necessariis, sed in iudicio alienis. pauca etiam de 10
Latinis scriptis meis ad eandem peritiam pertinentibus legi
iubebo, in quibus animaduertes cum me (collegisse res)
cognitu raras, tum nomina etiam Romanis inusitata et in
hodiernum quod sciam infecta, ea tamen nomina labore 15
meo et studio ita de Graecis prouenire, ut tamen Latina mo-
neta percussa sint. uel dicant nobis, Aemiliane, patroni
tui, ubi legerint Latine haec pronuntiata uocabula. de
solis aquatilibus dicam nec cetera animalia nisi in communi-
bus differentis attingam. ausculta igitur quae dicam. iam
me clamabis magica nomina Aegyptio uel Babylonico ritu 20
percensere: *σελάχεια, μαλάκεια, μαλακόστρακα, χονδράκανθα,*
ὄστρακόδερμα, καρχαρόδοντα, ἀμφίβια, λεπιδωτά, φολιδωτά,
δερμόπτερα, στεγανόποδα, μονήρη, συναγελαστικά — possum
etiam pergere; sed non est operae in istis diem terere, ut sit
mihi tempus adgredi ad cetera. haec interim quae dixi 25
pauca recita Latine a me enuntiata.

Vtrum igitur putas philosopho non secundum Cynicam 39
temeritatem rudi et indocto, sed qui se Platonicae scholae
meminerit, utrum ei putas turpe scire ista an nescire,
neglegere an curare, nosse quanta sit etiam in istis pro-
uidentiae ratio an (de) diis immortalibus matri et patri 5
credere? Q. Ennius hedyphagetica uersibus scripsit; in-
numerabilia genera piscium enumerat, quae scilicet curiose
cognorat. paucos uorsus memini, eos dicam:

12 collegisse res *add. Helm* cum me cognitu raras *Fφ (in φ*
rar punctis deleta): cum cognitu rara δ: cum in eis cognitu rara *edd.*
uett.: cum res cognitu raras *Bosscha* 19 differentis (-tiis iam
Casanbonus Helm: differentes *Fφ* 21-23 *καλυχεα μαλακεια*
μαλακοστρακα χονδρακανθα οστρακοδερμα καρχαροδοντα αμφιβια
>επιδωτα φολιδωτα δερμοπτερα πεσανοποδα μονηρη. συναγελαστικα F
39. 1 utrum *M¹V³*: uerum *Fφ* 5 de diis *v*: diis *Fφ*
6 hedyphagetica *Elmenhorst*: hedyphageticis *Scriuerius*: hed-*sphagi-*
tica Fφ a uersibus *Fφ (a del. Scriuerius)*: quae uersibus
v: qui uersibus *Bosscha*: cc uersibus *Rosbach* 8 cognouerat
F, sed eadem man. ue punctis deleuit: cognorat *φ*

- Omnibus ut Clupea praestat mustela marina,
 10 mures sunt Aeni, aspra ostrea plurima Abydi.
 †Mytilenae est pecten Charadrumque apud Ambraciae finis†.
 Brundisii sargus bonus est ; hunc, magnus si erit, sume.
 apriculum piscem scito primum esse Tarenti,
 Surrenti tu elopem fac emas, glaucumque apud Cumas.
 15 quid scarum praeterii cerebrum Iouis paene supremi
 (Nestoris ad patriam hic capitur magnusque bonusque)
 †melanurum, turdum, merulamque umbramque marinam†?
 polypus Corcyrae, caluaria pinguis, acharnae,
 purpura, muriculi, mures, dulces quoque echini.
 20 alios etiam multis uorsibus decorauit, et ubi gentium quis-
 que eorum, qualiter assus aut iurulentus optime sapiat,
 nec tamen ab eruditis reprehenditur, ne ego reprehendar,
 qui res paucissimis cognitae Graece et Latine propriis et
 elegantibus uocabulis conscribo.

9 ut *Fφ* : at *Turnebus* : ad *Vahlen* Clupea Columna : clipea *Fφ* :
 Clypeae *Turnebus* : Clupeam *Vahlen* 10 sunt *Fφ* : sic *L. Müller*
 Aeni aspra *Helm* : aen¹ aspera *F* : aeniaspera *φ* : Aeni ast aspra *Turne-*
bus : Aeni asperaque *Bergk* Abydi *v* : abidimus *Fφ* 11 Mytilenae
Fφ non tolerandum ad initium uersus caradrumque *Fφ, dubitatur*
utrum sit loci nomen an piscis : carabusque *Coluius* : caprosque *Casa-*
bonus : charadrusque *L. Müller* Ambraciae *m. al. in φ* : umbraciae
Fφ : Ambraciai *Salmasius* finis *Fφ* : finis *del. Salmasius* : fit
Helm. locus nondum sanatus : . . . mus ; Mytilenae | est pecten crebrum
 finisque apud Ambraciai *Baehrens* : . . . mus ; Mytilenae | est pecten
 Charadrique apud Ambraciai | finis *coni. Buller* : ultimam partem uersus
 uarie refingunt uiri docti apud Ambraciensis *Casaubonus* : apud Ambraci'
 finis doctus nescioquis : apud Ambraciotas *Heinsius* : apud Ambraciai |
 finis ; Brundisio sargust *L. Müller* 12-13 magnus erit si | sume ;
 ast apriculum scito Columna, deleto piscem (. . . si | sume ; apriculum
 piscem scito *Pithoeus*) 13 targenti *F* (*sed g puncto deletum*) :
 targenti *φ* (*rg puncto del.*) 14 Surrenti tu *Baehrens* : surrentia
Fφ Surrenti fac emas elopem *Bergk* apud Cumas *Fφ, fortasse*
corruptum : ἀπὸ Κύμης *Bergk* : prope Cumas *L. Müller* 15 scarum
Fφ : scarus ? *Bergk* cerebrum *m. al. in φ* : celebrum *Fφ* supre-
 mi *φ* : suppressi *F* 17 melanurum *Fφ non tolerandum ad ini-*
tium uersus ; fortasse cum *Bergk* legendum quid merulam, turdum,
 melanurum umbra inque *Fφ, sed in φ in punctis deleta et lineola*
 supra a addita 18 acharnae scripsimus (*acarnae iam Salmasius*) :
 carne *Fφ* 19 purpura *v* : purpurā *Fφ* muriculi *Turnebus* : marriculi
Fφ : matriculi *edd. Basil.* 21 iurulentus *Traube* : iusulentus *Fφ*

Cum hoc satis dixi, tum aliud accipe. quid enim tandem, 40
 si medicinae neque instudiosus neque imperitus quaequam
 remedia ex piscibus quaero? ut sane sunt plurima cum
 in aliis omnibus rebus eodem naturae munere interspersa
 atque interseminata, tum etiam nonnulla in piscibus. an 5
 remedia nosse et ea. conquirere magi potius esse quam
 medici, quam denique philosophi putas, qui illis non ad
 quaestum, sed ad suppetias usus est? ueteres quidem
 medici etiam carmina remedia uulnerum norant, ut omnis
 uetustatis certissimus auctor Homerus docet, qui facit Vlixi 10
 de uulnere sanguinem profluentem sisti cantamine. nihil
 enim, quod salutis ferendae gratia fit, criminis est. 'at
 enim' inquit 'piscem cui rei nisi malae proscidisti, quem
 tibi Themison seruus attulit?' quasi uero non paulo prius
 dixerim me de particulis omnium animalium, de situ earum 15
 deque numero deque causa conscribere ac libros ἀνατομῶν
 Aristoteli et explorare studio et augere. atque adeo summe
 miror quod unum a me pisciculum inspectum sciatis, cum
 iam plurimos, ubicumque locorum oblatis sunt, aequè inspe-
 xerim, praesertim quod nihil ego clanculo, sed omnia in 20
 propatulo ago, ut quiuis uel extrarius arbiter adsistat, more
 hoc et instituto magistrorum meorum, qui aiunt hominem
 liberum et magnificum debere, si quo eat, in primori fronte
 animum gestare. hunc adeo pisciculum, quem uos leporem
 marinum nominatis, plurimis qui aderant ostendi; necdum 25
 etiam decerno quid uocent, nisi quaeram sane accuratius,
 quod nec apud ueteres philosophos proprietatem eius piscis
 reperiō, quanquam sit omnium rarissima et hercule memo-
 randa; quippe solus ille, quantum sciam, cum sit cetera

40. 4 naturae *m. al. in φ*: natura e *Fφ* 6 esse *M¹V⁵Tδ*: est
Fφ 7 qui *Fφ*: cui *Hildebrand*: quibus *vel* (quippe) qui *coni.*
Helm 8 usus *M¹V⁵*: usura *Fφ* 14 Themison seruus
Lipsius: themis conseruus *Fφ* 16 deque (*bis*) *M¹V⁵*: denique (*bis*)
Fφ 17 atque] atque admiror quod *V⁵* adeo summe *Salmasius*:
 adeorum me *Fφ* (rum in *φ punctis deleta*) 19 locorum *M¹*: locarum
Fφ 23 si quo eat *Helm*: si queat *Fφ*: si qua eat *Van der Vliet*

- 30 exossis, duodecim numero ossa ad similitudinem talorum
suillorum in uentre eius conexa et catenata sunt. quod
Aristoteles nunquam profecto omisisset scripto prodere,
qui aselli piscis solius omnium in medio aluo corculum
41 situm pro maximo memorauit. 'piscem' inquit 'prosci-
disti.' hoc quis ferat philosopho crimen esse, quod lanio
uel coquo non fuisset? 'piscem proscidisti.' quod cru-
dum, id accusas? si cocto uentrem rusparer, hepatis
5 suffoderem, ita ut apud te puerulus ille Sicinius Pudens
suomet obsonio discit, eam rem non putares accusandam;
atqui maius crimen est philosopho comesse piscis quam
inspicere. an hariolis licet iocinera rimari, philosopho
contemplari non licebit, qui se sciat omnium animalium
10 haruspice, omnium deum sacerdotem? hoc in me accusas,
quod ego et Maximus in Aristotele miramur? cuius nisi
libros bibliothecis exegeris et studiosorum manibus ex-
torseris, accusare me non potes. sed de hoc paene plura
quam debui.
- 15 Nunc praeterea uide, quam ipsi sese reuincant; aiunt
mulierem magicis artibus, marinis illecebris a me petitam
eo in tempore, quo me non negabunt in Gaetuliae medi-
terraneis montibus fuisse, ubi pisces per Deucalionis di-
luuia reperientur. quod ego gratulor nescire istos legisse
20 me Theophrasti quoque *περὶ δακέτων καὶ βλητικῶν* et
Nicandri *θηριακά*; ceterum me etiam ueneficii reum postu-
larent; at quidem hoc negotium ex lectione et aemulatione
Aristoteli nactus sum, nonnihil et Platone meo adhortante,

32 nunquam M^1 : si unquam $F\phi$: si scisset unquam V^3 : si unquam
scisset non T

41. 4 rusparer hepatis v : rusparet hepatis $F\phi$ 6 obsono $F\phi$
(*manus aliae i super o scripserunt*) accusandam *m. rec. in ϕ* : accu-
randam $F\phi$ 8 iocinera v : iocinena $F\phi$ 15 nunc M^1V^3 :
num $F\phi$ 17 mediterraneis $L^1M^1V^3$: mediterranis $F\phi$ 19 re-
perientur ϕ : repperientur F : reperiantur V^3 20 *βλητικῶν* v :
βαλτων F 21 ueneficii M^1 : beneficiis $F\phi$ reum *ed. Junt.*
posterior: eum $F\phi$ 22 at quidem *Helm*: ut quidem $F\phi$: et
quidem *Beyte*: ut qui V^2T 23 sim v

qui ait eum, qui ista uestiget, ἀμεταμέλητον παιδιὰν ἐν βίῳ
παύειν.

25

Nunc quoniam pisces horum satis patuerunt, accipe 42
aliud pari quidem stultitia, sed multo tanta uanius et
nequius excogitatum. scierunt et ipsi argumentum pesca-
rium futile et nihil futurum, praeterea nouitatem eius
ridiculam (quis enim fando audiuit ad magica maleficia 5
disquamari et exdorsari piscis solere?), potius aliquid de
rebus peruulgationibus et iam creditis fingendum esse.
igitur ad praescriptum opinionis et famae confinxere puerum
quempiam carmine cantatum remotis arbitris, secreto loco,
arula et lucerna et paucis consciis testibus, ubi incantatus 10
sit, corruisse, postea nescientem sui excitatum, nec ultra isti
quidem progredi mendacio ausi; enim fabula ut impleretur,
addendum etiam illud fuit, puerum eundem multa praesagio
praedixisse. quippe hoc emolumentum canticis accipimus,
praesagium et diuinationem, nec modo uulgi opinione, uerum 15
etiam doctorum uirorum auctoritate hoc miraculum de
pueris confirmatur. memini me apud Varronem philoso-
phum, uirum accuratissime doctum atque eruditum, cum
alia eiusdem modi, tum hoc etiam legere: Trallibus de
euentu Mithridatici belli magica percontatione consultantibus 20
puerum in aqua simulacrum Mercuri contemplantem quae
futura erant CLX uersibus cecinisse. itemque Fabium,
cum quingentos denarium perdidisset, ad Nigidium con-
sultum uenisse; ab eo pueros carmine instinctos indicauisse,
ubi locorum defossa esset crimina cum parti eorum, ceteri 25

42. 2 multo tanto *L*¹ 4 nihili *v* 5 ridiculam *M*¹ *T*: ridi-
culum *Fφ* 6 desquamari *T* exdorsuari *L*³ 7 esset
*M*¹ 9 incantatum *Krüger* 10 arcula *Pricaeus* 11
nescientem *φ*: nesciente *F* 12 ausi sunt *m. rec. in φ* etenim
*V*³: at enim *Pricaeus*: sed enim *Bosscha*: sed *M*¹ 15 praesagium
et diuinationem *del. Pricaeus* 19 legere: Trallibus *m. al. in mg.*
φ: legeret rallibus *Fφ (in mg. F d.)* 22 CLX *φ*: OLX *F* Fabium
*M*¹: fauium *Fφ* 25 locorum *φ (ult. o fortasse in a mutato)*: loca-
rum *F* parti *F*: parte *φ (-te m. al. in ras.)*: partim *Brantius*

ut forent distributi ; unum etiam denarium ex eo numero habere M. Catonem philosophum ; quem se a pedisequo in stipe Apollinis accepisse Cato confessus est.

- 43 Haec et alia apud plerosque de magis et pueris lego equidem, sed dubius sententiae sum, dicamne fieri posse an negem, quamquam Platoni credam inter deos atque homines natura et loco medias quasdam diuorum potestates intersitas, easque diuinationes cunctas et magorum miracula gubernare ; quin et illud mecum reputo posse animum humanum, praesertim puerilem et simplicem, seu carminum auocamento siue odorum delenimento soporari et ad obliuionem praesentium externari et paulisper remota corporis memoria redigi ac redire ad naturam suam, quae est immortalis scilicet et diuina, atque ita uelut quodam sopore futura rerum praesagare. uerum enim uero, ut ista sese habent, si qua fides hisce rebus impertienda est, debet ille nescio qui puer prouidus, quantum ego audio, et corpore decorus atque integer deligi et animo sollers et ore facundus, ut in eo aut diuina potestas quasi bonis aedibus digne diuersetur, si tamen ea pueri corpore includitur, an ipse animus expergitus cito ad diuinationem suam redigatur, quae ei prompte insita et nulla obliuione saucia et hebes facile resumatur. non enim ex omni ligno, ut Pythagoras dicebat, debet Mercurius exsculpi. quod si ita est, nominate, quis ille fuerit puer sanus, incolumis, ingeniosus, decorus, quem ego carmine dignatus sim initiare. ceterum Thallus, quem nominastis, medico potius quam mago indiget ; est enim miser morbo comitali ita confectus, ut ter an quater die saepe numero sine ullis cantaminibus corruat omniaque membra conflictationibus debilitet, facie

27 habere* *F* (*quid sit erasum legi non potest. in mg. d.*) : habere ϕ (*eraso* -) 28 stipem *T*

43. 1 magis *L*¹*V*² δ : magis *F* ϕ : magicis *Aldus et Coluius* 5 intersitas *M*¹*TL*³*V*⁵ *m. rec. in* ϕ : intersitus *F* ϕ 12 utut *Coluius* : ut *F* ϕ 17 an] aut *m. rec. in mg. ϕ T*

ulcerosus, fronte et occipitio conquassatus, oculis hebes,
 naribus hiulcus, pedibus caducus. maximus omnium magus
 est, quo praesente Thallus diu steterit : ita plerumque morbo 30
 ceu somno uergens inclinatur. eum tamen uos carminibus 44
 meis subuersum dixistis, quod forte me coram semel decidit.
 conserui eius plerique adsunt, quos exhiberi denuntiastis.
 possunt dicere omnes, quid in Thallo despuant, cur nemo
 audeat cum eo ex eodem catino cenare, eodem poculo 5
 bibere. et quid ego de seruis? uos ipsi uidetis; negate
 Thallum multo prius, quam ego Oeam uenirem, corruere eo
 morbo solitum, medicis saepe numero ostensum, negent hoc
 conserui eius qui sunt in ministerio uestro; omnium rerum
 conuictum me fatebor, nisi rus adeo iam diu ablegatus est 10
 in longinquos agros, ne familiam contaminaret: quod ita
 factum nec ab illis negari potest. eo nec potuit hodie a
 nobis exhiberi. nam ut omnis ista accusatio temeraria et
 repentina fuit, nudius tertius nobis Aemilianus denuntiauit,
 ut seruos numero quindecim apud te exhiberemus. adsunt 15
 XIII, qui in oppido erant. Thallus solus, ut dixi, quod
 ferme ad centesimum lapidem longe exul Oea est, is Thallus
 solus abest, sed misimus qui eum curriculo aduehat. inter-
 roga, Maxime, XIII seruos quos exhibemus, Thallus puer
 ubi sit et quam salue agat, interroga seruos accusatorum 20
 meorum. non negabunt turpissimum puerum, corpore putri
 et morbidum, caducum, barbarum, rusticanum. bellum uero
 puerum elegistis, quem quis sacrificio adhibeat, cuius caput
 contingat, quem puro pallio amiciat, a quo responsum
 speret. uellem hercle adesset: tibi eum, Aemiliane, per- 25

44. 8 negent δ: negant Fφ 10 nisi rus adeo iam diu *m. rec.*
in mg. φ: nisi rusa de omnium diu Fφ: nisi de omnium consensu rus
 diu V⁶: nisi rus a sede omnium diu *Helm*: nisi rus ideo omnium odio
Ellis: nisi rus adeo omnium uisu diu *Krüger*: nisi rus a domino diu
Kroll 16 quod] *om. aut* et quidem *v* 17 exul Oea est *Butler*:
 exoleis Fφ: ex oculis *v*: exulet *T*: exsulans *Bosscha*: exul est
Hildebrand 20 accusatorum *M¹L³* et *m. rec. in mg.* φ: accura-
 torum Fφ 25 uelle Fφ (*corr. m. al. in φ quae lineam post e*
addidit) (etiam) tibi *A*

misissem, et tenerem, si tu interrogares; iam in media quaestione hic ibidem pro tribunali oculos trucidis in te inuertisset, faciem tuam spumabundus conspuisset, manus contraxisset, caput succussisset, postremo in sinu tuo
30 corruisset.

- 45 XIII seruos quos postulasti exhibeo. cur illis ad quaestionem nihil uteris? unum puerum atque eum caducum requiris, quem olim abesse pariter mecum scis. quae alia est euidentior calumnia? XIII serui petitu tuo adsunt,
5 eos dissimulas; unus puerulus abest, eum insimulas. postremo quid uis? puta Thallum adesse: uis probare eum praesente me concidisse? ultro confiteor. carmine id factum dicis? hoc puer nescit, ego non factum reuincō; nam caducum esse puerum nec tu audebis negare. cur
10 ergo carmini potius quam morbo attribuaturs eius ruina? an euenire non potuit, ut forte praesente me idem pateretur, quod saepe alias multis praesentibus? quod si magnum putarem caducum deicere, quid opus carmine fuit, cum incensus gagates lapis, ut apud physicos lego, pulchre
15 et facile hunc morbum exploret, cuius odore etiam in uenaliis uulgo sanitatem aut morbum uenaliū experiantur? etiam orbis a figulo circumactus non difficile eiusdem uoletudinis hominem uertigine sui corripit, ita spectaculum rotationis eius animum saucium debilitat; ac multo plus ad
20 caducos consternendos figulus ualet quam magus. tu frustra postulasti, ut seruos exhiberem: ego non de nihilo postulo ut nomines, quinam testes huic piaculari sacro adfuerint, cum ego ruentem Thallum impellerem. unum omnino nominas puerulum illum Sicinium Pudentem, cuius me
25 nomine accusas; is enim adfuisse se dicit; cuius pueritia etsi nihil ad religionem refragaretur, tamen accusatio fidem

· 26 et tenerem, si] ut teneres ipse ut V^b

45. 9 nam Bosscha: num Fφ: nunc M¹ 20 caducos φ (ex corr.): caduco se F 26 religionem φ: regionem F (m. rec. li supra-scripsit) refragaretur F (ref ex sef effecit prima manus; ra eadem ex re effecit et in margine fragaret scripsit): suffragaretur φ

deroget. facilius fuit, Aemiliane, ac multo grauius, tete ut ipsum diceret interfuisse et ex eo sacro coepisse dementire potius quam totum negotium quasi ludicrum pueris donares. puer cecidit, puer uidit: num etiam puer aliqui incantauit? 30

Hic satis ueteratorie Tannonius Pudens, cum hoc quoque 46 mendacium frigere ac prope iam omnium uultu et murmure explosum uideret, ut uel suspiciones quorundam spe moraretur, ait pueros alios producturum, qui sint aequae a me incantati, atque ita ad aliam speciem argumenti transgressus 5 est. quod quamquam dissimulare potui, tamen ut omnia, ita hoc quoque ultro prouoco. cupio enim produci eos pueros, quos spe libertatis audio confirmatos ad mentiendum. sed nihil amplius dico: ut producant. postulo igitur et flagito, Tannoni Pudens, ut expleas quod pollicitus es. cedo 10 pueros istos, quibus confiditis: produc, nomina qui sint. mea aqua licet ad hoc utare. dic, inquam, Tannoni. quid taces, quid cunctaris, quid respectas? quod si hic nescit quid didicerit aut nomina oblitus est, at tu, Aemiliane, cede huc, dic quid aduocato tuo mandaueris, exhibe pueros. 15 quid expalluisti? quid taces? hocine accusare est, hocine tantum crimen deferre an Claudium Maximum, tantum uirum, ludibrio habere, me calumnia insectari? quod si forte patronus tuus uerbo prolapsus est et nullos pueros habes quos producas, saltem XIII seruis quos exhibui ad 20 aliquid utere. aut cur sisti postulabas tantam familiam? 47 magiae accusans de xv seruis denuntiasti: quid, si de ui accusares, quot tandem seruos postulares? sciunt ergo aliquid xv serui et occultum est. an occultum non est et magicum est? alterum horum fatearis necesse est, aut 5 illicitum non fuisse in quo tot conscios non timuerim, aut

46. 2 murmure ϕ : marmure F (*m. rec.* u *suprascriptit*) 10 pollicitus es δ : pollicitus F : es pollicitus ϕ 13 respectas ϕ : respectus F 14 didicerit *Van der Vliet*: dicerit F : dixerit ϕ 17 tantum] tandem *coni. Owen*

47. 1 tantam V^6T : tantum $F\phi$ 3 quot *m. rec.* in *mg.* ϕ : quod $F\phi$

si illicitum fuit, scire tot conscios non debuisse. magia ista, quantum ego audio, res est legibus delegata, iam inde antiquitus XII tabulis propter incredundas frugum illecebras
 10 interdicta, igitur et occulta non minus quam tetra et horribilis, plerumque noctibus uigilata et tenebris abstrusa et arbitris solitaria et carminibus murmurata, cui non modo seruorum, uerum etiam liberorum pauci adhibentur. et tu quindecim seruos uis interfuisse? nuptiaene illae fuerunt
 15 an aliud celebratum officium an conuiuium tempestiuum? xv serui sacrum magicum participant quasi xv uiri sacris faciundis creati? cui tamen rei tot numero adhibuissem, si conscientiae nimis multi sunt? xv liberi homines populus est, totidem serui familia, totidem uincti ergastulum. an
 20 adiutorio multitudo eorum necessaria fuit, qui diutine hostias lustralis tenerent? at nullas hostias nisi gallinas nominastis. an ut grana turis numerarent, an ut Thallum prosternerent?
 48 Mulierem etiam liberam perductam ad me domum dixistis eiusdem <ac> Thalli ualetudinis, quam ego pollicitus sim curaturum, eam quoque a me incantatam corruisse. ut uideo, uos palaestritam, non magum accusatum uenistis:
 5 ita omnis qui me accessere dicitis cecidisse. negauit tamen quaerente te, Maxime, Themison medicus, a quo mulier ad inspiciendum perducta est, quicquam ultra passam nisi quaesisse me, ecquid illi aures obtinnirent et utra earum magis; ubi responderit dexteram sibi aurem nimis inque-
 10 tam, confestim discessisse. hic ego, Maxime, quanquam sedulo inpraesentiarum a laudibus tuis tempero, necubi tibi ob causam istam uidear blanditus, tamen sollertiam tuam in percontando nequeo quin laudem. dudum enim, cum haec agitentur et illi incantatam mulierem dicerent, medicus
 15 qui adfuerat abnueret, quaesisti tu nimis quam prudenter, quod mihi emolumentum fuerit incantandi. responderunt:

21 nominastis. an ut ϕ (*ex corr. m. al.*): nominasti sancit $F\phi$

48. 2 ac *add. Butler* 5 accessere ϕ : accessero F 16 emolumentum ϕ : emulumentum F

'ut mulier rueret.' 'quid deinde? mortua est?' inquis.
 negarunt. 'quid ergo dicitis? quod Apulei commodum,
 si ruisset?' ita enim pulchre ac perseueranter tertio quae-
 sisti, ut qui scires omnium factorum rationes diligentius 20
 examinandas ac saepius causas quaeri, facta concedi, eoque
 etiam patronos litigatorum causidicos nominari, quod cur
 quaeque facta sint expediant. ceterum negare factum facilis
 res est et nullo patrono indiget: recte factum uel perperam
 docere, id uero multo arduum et difficile est. frustra igitur 25
 an factum sit anquiritur, quod nullam malam causam habuit
 ut fieret. ita facti reus apud bonum iudicem scrupulo quae-
 stionis liberatur, si nulla fuit ei ratio peccandi. nunc quo-
 niam neque incantatam neque prostratam mulierem pro-
 bauerunt et ego non nego petitu medici a me inspectam, 30
 dicam tibi, Maxime, cur illud de aurium tinnitu quaesierim,
 non tam purgandi mei gratia in ea re, quam tu iam praeiudi-
 casti neque culpae neque crimini confinem, quam ut ne
 quid dignum auribus tuis et doctrinae tuae congruens
 reticuerim. dicam igitur quam breuissime potuero; etenim 35
 admonendus es mihi, non docendus.

Plato philosophus in illo praeclarissimo Timaeo caelesti 49
 quadam facundia uniuersum mundum molitur. igitur post-
 quam de nostri quoque animi trinis potestatibus sollertissime
 disseruit et, cur quaeque membra nobis diuina prouidentia
 fabricata sint, aptissime docuit, causam morborum omnium 5
 trifariam percenset. primam causam primordiis corporis
 attribuit, si ipsae elementorum qualitates, uuida et frigida,
 et his duae aduorsae non congruant; id adeo euenit, cum
 quaequam earum modo excessit aut loco demigravit. se-
 quens causa morborum inest in eorum uitio, quae iam con- 10
 creta ex simplicibus elementis una tamen specie coaluerunt,
 ut est sanguinis species et uisceris et ossi et medullae,

20 ut qui scires ϕ (m. al. in ras.): ut quis ei res $F\phi$ 35 potero ϕ
 49. 2 molitur *Rosbach*: molitus $F\phi$: molitus, is *Ellis* 7 uuida
F: humida ϕ (m in ras.) 12 ossis $V^1V^3V^5$

- porro illa quae ex hisce singularibus mixta sunt: tertio in corpore concrementa uarii fellis et turbidi spiritus et
 15 pinguis humoris nouissima aegritudinum incitamenta sunt.
 50 quorum e numero praecipuast materia morbi comitialis, de quo dicere exorsus sum, cum caro in humorem crassum et spumidum inimico igni colliquescit et spiritu indidem parto ex candore compressi aeris albida et tumida tabes fluit. ea
 5 namque tabes si foras corporis prospirauit, maiore dedecore quam noxa diffunditur; pectoris enim primorem cutim uutiligine insignit et omnimodis maculationibus conuariat. sed cui hoc usu uenerit, numquam postea comitiali morbo adtemptatur; ita aegritudinem animi grauissimam leui turpi-
 10 tudine corporis compensat. enimuero si perniciosa illa dulcedo intus cohibita et bili atrae sociata uenis omnibus furens peruasit, dein ad summum caput uiam molita dirum fluxum cerebro immiscuit, ilico regalem partem animi debilitat, quae ratione pollens uerticem hominis uelut arcem et
 15 regiam insedit. eius quippe diuinas uias et sapientis meatus obruit et obturbat; quod facit minore perniciē per soporem, cum potu et cibo plenos comitialis morbi praenuntia strangulatione modice angit. sed si usque adeo aucta est, ut etiam uigilantium capiti offundatur, tum uero repentino mentis
 20 nubilo obtorpescunt et moribundo corpore, cessante animo cadunt. eum nostri non modo maiorem et comitiale, uerum etiam diuinum morbum, ita ut Graeci *ἱερὰν νόσον*, uere nuncuparunt, uidelicet quod animi partem rationalem quae longe sanctissimast, eam uiolet.
 51 Agnoscis, Maxime, rationem Platonis quantum potui pro tempore perspicue explicatam; cui ego fidem arbitratus

50. 1 praecipuast *Helm*: praecipua si *F*: praecipua si^t φ 3 spiritu *Coluius*: spiritum *Fφ*, quo seruato parit *Lat. Latinius* pro parto
 11 albedo *Coluius*: mucedo *Vulcanius*: putredo *Helm* 14-15 arcem et regiam *Fφ* (in *F m. al.* in arcem egregiam mutauit, in *mg.* addito d) 24 sanctissimast, eam *Helm* (sanctissima est *v*): scissimas team *F* (ē sup. s final. scr. m. rec.): scissima est eam φ (est *m. al.* in *ras*.)

causam diuini morbi esse, cum illa pestis in caput redun-
 dauit, haudquaquam uideor de nihilo percontatus, an esset
 mulieri illi caput graue, ceruix torpens, tempora pulsata, 5
 aures sonorae. [et] ceterum, quod dexteræ auris crebriores
 tinnitus fatebatur, signum erat morbi penitus adacti; nam
 dextera corporis ualidiōra sunt eoque minus spei ad sani-
 tatem relinquunt, cum et ipsa aegritudini succumbunt.
 Aristoteles adeo in problematis scriptum reliquit, quibus- 10
 cumque caducis a dextero morbus occipiat, eorum esse
 difficiliorem medelam. longum est, si uelim Theophrasti
 quoque sententiam de eodem morbo recensere; est enim
 etiam eius egregius liber de caducis. quibus tamen in alio
 libro, quem de inuidentiis animalibus conscripsit, remedio 15
 esse ait exuias stelionum, quas uelut senium more cete-
 rorum serpentium temporibus statutis exuant; sed nisi
 confestim eripias, malignone praesagio an naturali appetentia
 ilico conuertuntur et deuorant. haec idcirco commemorauī,
 nobilium philosophorum disputata simul et libros sedulo 20
 nominaui nec ullum ex medicis aut poetis uolui attingere,
 ut isti desinant mirari, si philosophi suapte doctrina causas
 morborum et remedia nouerunt. igitur cum ad inspicien-
 dum mulier aegra curationis gratia ad me perducta sit
 atque hoc et medici confessione qui adduxit ac mea ratio- 25
 cinatione recte factum esse conueniat, aut constituent magi
 et malefici hominis esse morbis mederi, aut, si hoc dicere non
 audent, fateantur se in puero et muliere caducis uanas et
 prorsus caducas calumnias intendisse.

Immo enim, si uerum uelis, Aemiliane, tu potius caducus 52
 qui iam tot calumniis cecidisti. neque enim grauius est

51. 3 redundauit φ: redudauit F (corr. m. rec.) 6 et del.
 Salmasius 9 aegritudini succumbunt m. rec. in mg. L¹: aegri-
 tudinis accumbunt Fφ: aegritudini accumbunt δV⁵ 10 problema-
 tibus m. al. in mg. φ quibuscunque Scip. Gentilis: qb; ξq; F:
 qb; ēq φ 25 ac Fuluius Ursinus: ad codd.: ad (me et) Helm
 mea F: meam φL¹V⁵ ratiocinationem L¹V⁵ 28 uanas et φ:
 uanas | ed F (m. rec. distinxit)

corpore quam corde collabi, pede potius quam mente cor-
 ruere, in cubiculo despui quam in isto splendidissimo coetu
 5 detestari. at tu fortasse te putas sanum, quod non domi
 contineris, sed insaniam tuam, quoquo te duxerit, sequeris.
 atqui contende, si uis, furorem tuum cum Thalli furore :
 inuenies non permultum interesse, nisi quod Thallus sibi,
 tu etiam aliis furis. ceterum Thallus oculos torquet, tu
 10 ueritatem ; Thallus manus contrahit, tu patronos ; Thallus
 pauimentis illiditur, tu tribunalibus ; postremo ille quidquid
 agit in aegritudine facit, ignorans peccat : at tu, miser, pru-
 dens et sciens delinquis, tanta uis morbi te instigat ; falsum
 pro uero insimulas, infectum pro facto criminaris, quem
 15 innocentem liquido scis, tamen accusas ut nocentem.

53 Quin etiam—quod praeterii—sunt quae fatearis nescire,
 et eadem rursus, quasi scias, criminaris. ais enim me
 habuisse quaedam sudariolo inuoluta apud lares Pontiani.
 ea inuoluta quae et cuius modi fuerint, nescisse te confiteris,
 5 neque praeterea quemquam esse qui uiderit ; tamen illa
 contendis instrumenta magiae fuisse. nemo tibi blandiatur,
 Aemiliane : non est in accusando uersutia ac ne impudentia
 quidem, ne tu arbitreris. quid igitur ? furor infelix acerbi
 animi et misera insania crudae senectutis. his enim paene
 10 uerbis cum tam graui et perspicaci iudice egisti : ‘habuit
 Apuleius quaeepiam linteolo inuoluta apud lares Pontiani.
 haec quoniam ignoro quae fuerint, idcirco magica fuisse
 contendo. crede igitur mihi quod dico, quia id dico quod
 nescio.’ o pulchra argumenta et aperte crimen reuinentia.
 15 ‘hoc fuit, quoniam quid fuerit ignoro.’ solus repertus es,
 Aemiliane, qui scias etiam illa quae nescis ; tantum super
 omnis stultitia euectus es, quippe qui sollertissimi et acer-

52. 7 contende si *Beyte* : contenderi *Fφ* (*sed in φ -ri mutatum est in -re*) : contendere *L¹A* : contende *L³* (*hiatus trium litt.*) : si contendere *V⁵T*

53. 2 criminaris *φ* : criminari *F* (*in mg. d. m. rec. add. s*)
 17 stultitia euectus *Stewech* : stultitie uectus *Fφ*

rimi philosophorum ne iis quidem confidendum esse aiunt quae uidemus, at tu de illis quoque adfirmas, quae neque conspexisti umquam neque audisti. Pontianus si uiueret 20 atque eum interrogares, quae fuerint in illo inuolucro, nescire se responderet. libertus eccille, qui clauis eius loci in hodiernum habet et a uobis stat, numquam se ait inspexisse, quanquam ipse aperiret utpote promus librorum, qui illic erant conditi, paene cotidie et clauderet, saepe nobiscum, 25 multo saepius solus intraret, linteum in mensa positum cerneret sine ullo sigillo, sine uinculo. quidni enim? magicæ res in eo occultabantur: eo neglegentius adseruabam, sed enim libere scrutandum et inspiciendum, si liberet, etiam auferendum temere exponebam, alienae custodiae 30 commendabam, alieno arbitrio mittebam. quid igitur inpraesentiarum uis tibi credi? quodne Pontianus nescierit, qui indiuiduo contubernio mecum uixit, id te scire, quem numquam uiderim nisi pro tribunali? an quod libertus adsiduus, cui omnis facultas inspiciendi fuit, quod 35 is libertus non uiderit, te qui numquam eo accesseris uidisse? denique ut, quod non uidisti, id tale fuerit, quale dicis: atqui, stulte, si hodie illud sudariolum tu intercepisses, quicquid ex eo promeres, ego magicum negarem.

Tibi adeo permitto, finge quiduis, eminiscere, excogita, 54 quod possit magicum uideri: tamen de eo tecum decertarem. aut ego subiectum dicerem aut remedio acceptum aut sacro traditum aut somnio imperatum; mille alia sunt quibus possem more communi et uulgatissima obseruationum 5 consuetudine uere refutare. nunc id postulas, ut, quod reprehensum et detentum tamen nihil me apud bonum iudicem laederet, id inani suspitione incertum et incognitum condemnet. haud sciam an rursus, ut soles, dicas: 'quid

21 interrogares *m. rec. in mg. φ, codd. dett.*: interrogaret *Fφ*
 22 etiam ille *v* 29 sed enim *m. al. in φ corr. et in mg. ascr.*: sed
 eui *Fφ*

54. 1 eminiscere *Helm*: reminiscere *Fφ*: comminiscere *Coluius*
 7 deprehensum *M¹V⁵T*

- 10 ergo illud fuit, quod linteo tectum apud lares potissimum deposuisti? itane est, Aemiliane? sic accusas, ut omnia a reo percontere, nihil ipse adferas cognitum. 'quam ob rem piscis quaeris?' 'cur aegram mulierem inspexisti?' 'quid in sudario habuisti?' utrum tu accusatum an inter-
- 15 rogatum uenisti? si accusatum, tute argue quae dicis, si interrogatum, noli praeiudicare, quid fuerit, quod ideo te necesse est interrogare, quia nescis. ceterum hoc quidem pacto omnes homines rei constituentur, si ei, qui nomen cuiuspiam detulerit, nulla necessitas sit probandi, omnis
- 20 contra facultas percontandi. quippe omnibus sic, ut forte negotium magiae facessitur, quicquid omnino egerint obicietur. uotum in alicuius statucae femore signasti: igitur magus es; aut cur signasti? tacitas preces in templo deis allegasti: igitur magus es; aut quid optasti? contra: nihil
- 25 in templo precatus es: igitur magus es; aut cur deos non rogasti? similiter, si posueris donum aliquod, si sacrificaueris, si uerbenam sumpseris. dies me deficiet, si omnia uelim persequi, quorum rationem similiter calumniator flagitabit. praesertim quod conditum cumque, quod ob-
- 30 gnatum, quod inclusum domi adseruatur, id omne eodem argumento magicum dicetur aut e cella promptaria in forum atque in iudicium proferetur.
- 55 Haec quanta sint et cuius modi, Maxime, quantusque campus calumniis hoc Aemiliani tramite aperiatur, quantique sudores innocentibus hoc uno sudariolo adferantur, possum equidem pluribus disputare, sed faciam quod institui: etiam
- 5 quod non necesse est confitebor et interrogatus ab Aemiliano respondebo. interrogas, Aemiliane, quid in sudario haberim. at ego, quanquam omnino positum ullum sudarium

12 percontere *v*: percontare *Fφ*
 ut sutu *Fφ*; insutum *M¹ et suprascr. V³*
Fφ 21 facessetur *Casanbonus*
 ptoria *φ*

14 utrum tu *T Salmasius*:
 20 sic, ut *Helm*: sicut
 31 promptuaria *M¹T*: prom-

55. 1 cuiusmodi *Colvius*: cuiuscemodi *Fφ*

meum in bibliotheca Pontiani possim negare ac, (si) maxime fuisse concedam, tamen habeam dicere nihil in eo inuolutum fuisse—quae si dicam, neque testimonio aliquo 10 neque argumento reuincar, nemo est enim qui attigerit, unus libertus, ut ais, qui uiderit—, tamen, inquam, per me licet fuerit refertissimum. sic enim, si uis, arbitrare, ut olim Vlixii socii thesaurum repperisse arbitrati sunt, cum utrem uentosissimum manticularentur. uin dicam, cuius 15 modi illas res in sudario obuolutas laribus Pontiani commendarim? mos tibi geretur.

Sacrorum pleraque initia in Graecia participauit. eorum quaedam signa et monumenta tradita mihi a sacerdotibus sedulo conseruo. nihil insolitum, nihil incognitum dico. 20 uel unius Liberi patris mystae qui adestis scitis, quid domi conditum celetis et absque omnibus profanis tacite uenere mini. at ego, ut dixi, multiuiga sacra et plurimos ritus et uarias caerimonias studio ueri et officio erga deos didici, nec hoc ad tempus compono, sed abhinc ferme triennium 25 est, cum primis diebus quibus Oeam ueneram publice disserens de Aesculapii maiestate eadem ista prae me tuli et quot sacra nossem percensui. ea disputatio celebratissima est, uulgo legitur, in omnibus manibus uersatur, non tam facundia mea quam mentione Aesculapii religiosi Oeensis 30 commendata. dicite aliquis, si qui forte meminit, huius loci principium.—audisne, Maxime, multos suggerentis? immo ecce etiam liber offertur. recitari ipsa haec iubebo, quoniam ostendis humanissimo uultu auditionem te istam non grauari.—

35

Etiamne cuiquam mirum uideri potest, cui sit ulla me- 56

8 ac si Koch, Goldbacher: ac Fφ: at D Salmasius: attamen ed. Junt. posterior 9 maxime] Maxime V³D tamen] cum V⁶: tamen cum Krüger 13 refertissimum Wytttenbach: repertissimum Fφ 21 symmystae V⁵ 24 uarias L² et al. m. in φ: uanas Fφ 26 publice φ: publice F 28 quot Casaubonus: quod Fφ nossem percensui v: nos semper censui Fφ 31 siquis M¹L³ 34 auditione* F (eraso -): auditione φ ista* F (eraso -): ista φ

moria religionis, hominem tot mysteriis deum cōscium
 quaedam sacrorum crepundia domi adseruare atque ea lineo
 texto inuoluere, quod purissimum est rebus diuinis uela-
 5 mentum? quippe lana, segnissimi corporis excrementum,
 pecori detracta iam inde Orphei et Pythagorae scitis pro-
 fanus uestitus est; sed enim mundissima lini seges inter
 optimas fruges terra exorta non modo indutui et amictui
 sanctissimis Aegyptiorum sacerdotibus, sed opertui quoque
 10 rebus sacris usurpatur. atque ego scio nonnullos et cum
 primis Aemilianum istum facetiae sibi habere res diuinas
 deridere. nam, ut audio partim Oeensium qui istum nouere,
 nulli deo ad hoc aeui supplicauit, nullum templum frequen-
 tavit, si fanum aliquod praetereat, nefas habet adorandi
 15 gratia manum labris admouere. iste uero nec dis rurationis,
 qui eum pascunt ac uestiunt, segetis ulla aut uitis aut
 gregis primitias impertit; nullum in uilla eius delubrum
 situm, nullus locus aut lucus consecratus. ecquid ego de
 luco et delubro loquor? negant uidisse se qui fuere unum
 20 saltem in finibus eius aut lapidem unctum aut ramum
 coronatum. igitur adgnomenta ei duo indita: Charon, ut
 iam dixi, ob oris et animi diritatem, sed alterum, quod
 libentius audit, ob deorum contemptum, Mezentius. qua-
 propter facile intellego hasce ei tot initiorum enumerationes
 25 nugas uideri, et fors anne ob hanc diuini contumaciam non
 inducat animum uerum esse quod dixi, me sanctissime tot
 sacrorum signa et memoracula custodire. sed ego, quid de
 me Mezentius sentiat, manum non uorterim, ceteris autem

56. 3 ea *M¹V⁶*: eo *Fφ* 13 ad* *F* (eraso u): adij *φ* 15
 gratiam *Fφ* (in *φ m. al. punctis m deleuit*) iste *V⁶*: isti *Fφ*
 18 lucus aut locus *L³ Vahlen* et quid *φ*: sed quid *Groslotius*
 19 (ibi) fuere *Helm*: affuere *Pricaeus* 20 in finibus eius *post*
 fuere (19) *transp. Krüger* 21 adgnom—*ra* | ei duo *F*: agno-
 menta ei *φ* (-enta ei *postea add. m. nescio an prima litt. minoribus*)
 26 inducat *F*: inducatu *φ* (in *F* 'quia charta pertenuis est, perspicitur
post t littera u uocis facundia quae legitur in fol. rect. col. 2 [c. 55. 30],
Helm)

clarissima uoce profiteor: si qui forte adest eorundem
sollemnium mihi particeps, signum dato, et audias licet quae 30
ego adseruem. nam equidem nullo umquam periculo com-
pellar, quae reticenda accepi, haec ad profanos enuntiare.

Vt puto, Maxime, satis uideor cuiuis uel iniquissimo 57
animum explesse et, quod ad sudarium pertineat, omnem
criminis maculam deterxisse, ac bono iam periculo ad testi-
monium illud Crassi, quod post ista quasi grauissimum
legerunt, a suspicionibus Aemiliani transcensurus. testi- 5
monium ex libello legi audisti gumiae cuiusdam et desperati
lurconis Iuni Crassi, me in eius domo nocturna sacra cum
Appio Quintiano amico meo factitasse, qui ibi mercede
deuersabatur. idque se ait Crassus, quamquam in eo
tempore uel Alexandriae fuerit, tamen taedae fumo et auium 10
plumis comperisse. scilicet eum, cum Alexandriae symposia
obiret—est enim Crassus iste, qui non inuitus de die in
ganeas conrepat—, in illo cauponii nidore pinnas de pena-
tibus suis aduectas aucupatum, fumum domus suae adgno-
uisse patrio culmine longe exortum. quem si oculis uidit, 15
ultra Vlixii uota et desideria hic quidem est oculatus; Vlixes
fumum terra sua emergentem compluribus annis e litore
prospectans frustra captauit: Crassus in paucis quibus
afuit mensibus eundem fumum sine labore in taberna
uinaria sedens conspexit. sin uero naribus nidorem dome- 20
sticum praesensit, uincit idem sagacitate odorandi canes et
uulturios; cui enim cani, cui uulturio Alexandrini caeli
quicquam abusque Oeensium finibus oboleat? est quidem
Crassus iste summus helluo et omnis fumi non imperitus,
sed profecto pro studio bibendi, quo solo censetur, facilius 25

30 audiat v

57. 10 tamtae dae *F* (*rectius distinxit m. al.*): tamen atedae ϕ (*mg.*
c a tede): t. a taedae *Hildebrand*: t. e taedae *Salmasius* 13 cau-
ponii *Brantius* qui cauponae quoque coniecit: cauponis *F* ϕ : cauponio
Scriverius 17 sua emergentem *M*¹: suae mergentem *F*: suc
mergentem ϕ

58 ad eum Alexandriam uini aura quam fumi perueniret. intellexit hoc et ipse incredibile futurum; nam dicitur ante horam diei secundam ieiunus adhuc et abstemius testimonium istud uendidisse. igitur scripsit haec se ad hunc
 5 modum comperisse: postquam Alexandria reuenerit, domum suam recta contendisse, qua iam Quintianus migrarat; ibi in uestibulo multas auium pinnas offendisse, praeterea parietes fuligine deformatos; quaesisse causas ex seruo suo, quem Oeae reliquerit, eumque sibi de meis et Quintiani
 10 nocturnis sacris indicasse. quam uero subtiliter compositum et ueri similiter commentum me, si quid eius facere uellem, non domi meae potius facturum fuisse, Quintianum istum, qui mihi assistit, quem ego pro amicitia quae mihi cum eo artissima est proque eius egregia eruditione et
 15 perfectissima eloquentia honoris et laudis gratia nomino, hunc igitur Quintianum, si quas auis in cena habuisset aut, quod aiunt, magiae causa interemisset, puerum nullum habuisse, qui pinnas conuerreret et foras abiceret. praeterea fumi tantam uim fuisse, ut parietes atros redderet,
 20 eamque deformitatem, quoad habitauit, passum in cubiculo suo Quintianum. nihil dicis, Aemiliane, non est ueri simile, nisi forte Crassus non in cubiculum reuersus perrexit, sed suo more recta ad focum. unde autem seruus Crassi suspicatus est noctu potissimum parietes fumigatos?
 25 an ex fumi colore? uidelicet fumus nocturnus nigrior est eoque diurno fumo differt. cur autem suspicax seruus ac tam diligens passus est Quintianum migrare prius quam mundam domum redderet? cur illae plumae quasi plumbeae tam diu aduentum Crassi manserunt? non insimulet

26 Alexandriam *Casaubonus*: alexandria *F*φ

58. 3 horam *m. al. suprascr. in φ*: horum *F*φ 17 interemisset *m. al. in φ*: interemisset *F*: interemisse φ 20 quoad habitauit φ: quo adhabitauit *F* 24 fumigatos *m. al. in mg. φ*: fumigatus *F*φ 28 illae *v*: ille *F*φ 28-29 plumbe ac *F*: plumbeac φ (*in mg. m. al. plumbeae*)

Crassus seruum suum: ipse haec potius de fuligine et 30
pinnis mentitus est, dum non potest nec in testimonio
dando discedere longius a culina.

Cur autem testimonium ex libello legistis? Crassus 59
ipse ubi gentium est? an Alexandriam taedio domus
remeauit? an parietes suos detergit? an, quod uerius est,
ex crapula helluo adtemptatur? nam equidem hic Sabratae
eum hesternae die animaduerti satis notabiliter in medio 5
foro tibi, Aemiliane, obructantem. quaere a nomenclato-
ribus tuis, Maxime, quamquam est ille cauponibus quam
nomenclatoribus notior, tamen, inquam, interroga, an hic
Iunium Crassum Oeensem uiderint; non negabunt. ex-
hibeat nobis Aemilianus iuuenem honestissimum, cuius 10
testimonio nititur. quid sit diei uides: dico Crassum iam
dudum ebrium stertere, aut secundo lauacro ad repotia
cenae obeunda uinulentum sudorem in balneo desudare.
is tecum, Maxime, praesens per libellum loquitur, non quin
adeo sit alienatus omni pudore, ut etiam, sub oculis tuis si 15
foret, sine rubore ullo mentiretur, sed fortasse nec tantulum
potuit ebrius sibi temperare, ut hanc horam sobrie expecta-
ret: aut potius Aemilianus de consilio fecit, ne eum sub
tam seueris oculis tuis constitueret, ne tu beluam illam
uulsis maxillis foedo aspectu de facie improbares, cum 20
animaduertisses caput iuuenis barba et capillo populatum,
madentis oculos, cilia turgentia, rictum (restrictum), saliuosa
labia, uocem absonam, manuum tremorem, ructus popinam.
patrimonium omne iam pridem abligurriuit, nec quicquam
ei de bonis paternis superest, nisi una domus ad calumniam 25

59. 5 eum *M*¹: cum *F*φ 6 an (n punctis deleta) *F*: an φ 14 is
tecum *Acidalius*: iste cum *F*φ 17 ebrius *M*¹: ebria *F*φ: a bria
Hildebrand: bria *Krüger*: ebriamine *Helm*: ebriacus *Van der Vliet*
19 beluam (ex bal-) φ: baluam *F* et ante corr. φ 22 cilia turgentia
*L*²*L*³*V*¹: cilia tgentia φ: cilať—gentia *F* rictum] rictu *M*¹ re-
strictum add. *Acidalius*: (fluentem) *T*: (latum) *Helm*: alia aliť tenta-
uerunt 23 ructus popinam *Pricaeus*: ructuspinam *F*φ: ructus
spiramen *Helm*: ructus spumam *Rutgers*: rubram spinam *M*¹

uenditandam, quam tamen numquam carius quam in hoc testimonio locauit; nam temulentum istud mendacium tribus milibus nummis Aemiliano huic uendidit, idque Oeae nemini ignoratur.

- 60 Omnes hoc, antequam fieret, cognouimus, et potui denuntiatione impedire, nisi scirem mendacium tam stultum potius Aemiliano, qui frustra redimebat, quam mihi, qui merito contemnebam, obfuturum. uolui et Aemilianum
 5 damno adfici et Crassum testimonii sui dedecore prostitui. ceterum nudiustertius haudquaquam occulta res acta est in Rufini cuiusdam domo, de quo mox dicam, intercessoribus et deprecatoribus ipso Rufino et Calpurniano. quod eo libentius Rufinus perfecit, quod erat certus ad uxorem
 10 suam, cuius stupra sciens dissimulat, non minimam partem praemii eius Crassum relaturum. uidi te quoque, Maxime, coitionem aduersum me et coniurationem eorum pro tua sapientia suspicatum, simul libellus ille prolatus est, totam rem uultu aspernantem. denique quamquam sunt insolita
 15 audacia et importuna impudentia praediti, tamen testimonio Crassi, cuius oboluisse faecem uidebant,—nec ipsi ausi sunt perlegere nec quicquam eo niti. uerum ego ista propterea commemoraui, non quod pinnarum formidines et fuliginis maculam te praesertim iudice timerem, sed ut ne impunitum
 20 Crasso foret, quod Aemiliano, homini rustico, fumum uendidit.

- 61 Inde etiam crimen ab illis, cum Pudentillae litteras legerent, de cuiusdam sigilli fabricatione prolatum est, quod me aiunt ad magica maleficia occulta fabrica ligno exquisitis-

27 nam *M*¹: num *F*φ

60. 5 damno adfici *V*⁶: damna id faciet *F*φ: dampni id facere *m*.
rec. in mg. φ 6 occulta res φ: occultares *F*: occulto res *Casan-*

bonus 8 deprecatoribus *Kronenberg*: depretiatoribus *Brantius*

12 coniurationem *V*⁶: curationem *F*φ 14 insolita *Jahn*: solita

*F*φ: soluta *edd. vet.*: stolidi *Ellis* 15 testimonium *M*¹

20 Crasso foret *scripsimus*: foret Crasso *M*¹: 'foret' crassum *F*: cras-
 sum foret φ: {Crasso} foret, crassum *Helm*

61. 1 inde *Acidalius*: unde *F*: un φ: unum *M*¹

simo comparasse et, cum sit sceleti forma turpe et horribile,
 tamen impendio colere et Graeco uocabulo βασιλέα nuncu- 5
 pare. nisi fallor, ordine eorum uestigia persequor et singil-
 latim apprehendens omnem calumniae textum retexo.

Occulta fuisse fabricatio sigilli quod dicitis qui potest,
 cuius uos adeo artificem non ignorastis, ut ei, praesto
 adesset, denuntiaueritis? en adest Cornelius Saturninus 10
 artifex, uir inter suos et arte laudatus et moribus compro-
 batus, qui tibi, Maxime, paulo ante diligenter sciscitanti
 omnem ordinem gestae rei summa cum fide et ueritate
 percensuit: me, cum apud eum multas geometricas formas
 e buxo uidissem subtiliter et affabre factas, inuitatum eius 15
 artificio quaedam mechanica ut mihi elaborasset petisse,
 simul et aliquod simulacrum cuiuscumque uellet dei, cui ex
 more meo supplicassem, quacumque materia, dummodo
 lignea, exsculperet. igitur primo buxeam temptasse. interim
 dum ego ruri ago, Sicinium Pontianum priuignum meum, 20
 qui mihi factum uolebat, impetratos hebeni loculos a muliere
 honestissima Capitolina ad se attulisse, ex illa potius materia
 rariore et durabiliore uti faceret adhortatum: id munus
 cum primis mihi gratum fore. secundum ea se fecisse,
 proinde ut loculi suppetebant. ita minutatim ex tabellis 25
 compacta crassitudine Mercuriolum expediri potuisse.

Haec ut dico omnia audisti. praeterea a filio Capito- 62
 lineae probissimo adolescente, qui praesens est, sciscitante
 te eadem dicta sunt: Pontianum loculos petisse, Pontianum
 Saturnino artifice detulisse. etiam illud non negatur, Pontia-
 num a Saturnino perfectum sigillum recepissee, postea mihi 5
 dono dedisse. his omnibus palam atque aperte probatis

4 sceleti *Casaubonus*: celeti *Fφ* 5 βασιλέαν *Fφ* 6 persequor
v: persequar *Fφ* 9 ut ei praesto] ut post praesto ponendum in *mg.*
adscr. F: ut supra pr. scr. φ 15 e buxo *T*: buxo *M*¹: evoxō *Fφ*:
 de buxo *m. rec. in mg. φ* 16-18 elaboraret . . . supplicarem *Acidalius*
 19 temptasse. interim *M*¹: temptasset interim *Fφ* 25 loculi
*M*¹*V*⁶: loculis *Fφ*

quid omnino superest, in quo suspicio aliqua magiae delitescat? immo quid omnino est, quod uos manifesti mendacii non reuincat? occulte fabricatum esse dixistis quod Pontianus splendidissimus eques fieri curauit, quod Saturninus uir grauis et probe inter suos cognitus in taberna sua sedens propalam exsculpsit, quod ornatissima matrona munere suo adiunxit, quod et futurum et factum multi cum seruorum tum amicorum, qui ad me uentitabant, scierunt. lignum a me toto oppido et quidem oppido quaesitum non piguit uos commentiri, quem quidem afuisse in eo tempore scitis, quem iussisse fieri qualicumque materia probatum est.

63 Tertium mendacium uestrum fuit macilentam uel omnino euisceratam formam diri cadaueris fabricatam, prorsus horribilem et laruaem. quodsi compertum habebatis tam euidentem signum magiae, cur mihi ut exhiberem non denuntiastis? an ut possetis in rem absentem libere mentiri? cuius tamen falsi facultas opportunitate quadam meae consuetudinis uobis adempta est. nam morem mihi habeo, quoquo eam, simulacrum alicuius dei inter libellos conditum gestare eique diebus festis ture et mero et aliquando uictima supplicare. dudum ergo cum audirem sceletum perquam impudenti mendacio dictitari, iussi, curriculo iret aliquis et ex hospitio meo Mercuriolum afferret, quem mihi Saturninus iste Oeae fabricatus est. cedo tu eum, uideant, teneant, considerent. em uobis, quem scelestus ille sceletum nominabat. auditisne reclamationem omnium qui adsunt? auditisne mendacii uestri damnationem? non uos tot calumniarum tandem dispudet? hiccine est sceletus, haec-

62. 9 quod *m. rec. in mg.* ϕ : quo *F*: co ϕ (quo *suprascript.*)
16 quem quidem *M¹V⁵*: quem quem *F*: quem (*ex quam*) quam ϕ

63. 2 diri *v*: duri *F* ϕ 3 laruaem *L¹M¹* et *m. rec. in mg.*
 ϕ : laruaem *F* ϕ 3-4 tam euidentem *M¹* in *mg.* ϕ eadem *m.* quae
laruaem *addidit*: tamen uidens *F* ϕ : an euidentem *V¹V³V⁵* 10 uictima
Hildebrand: uictimam *F* ϕ : uictimam *M¹V¹V⁵* et *m. rec. in mg.* ϕ
audirem ϕ : audire *F* 14 en *M¹* scelestus ϕ : sceletus *F*:
scelus *L³ Helm*

cine est larua, hoccine est quod appellitabatis daemonium? magicumne istud an sollemne et commune simulacrum est? accipe quaeso, Maxime, et contemplare; bene tam puris et 20 tam piis manibus tuis traditur res consecrata. em uide, quam facies eius decora et suci palaestrici plena sit, quam hilaris dei uultus, ut decenter utrimque lanugo malis deserpat, ut in capite crispatus capillus sub imo pillei umbraculo appareat, quam lepide super tempora pares pinnulae 25 emineant, quam autem festiue circa humeros uestis substricta sit. hunc qui sceletum audet dicere, profecto ille simulacra deorum nulla uidet aut omnia neglegit; hunc denique qui laruam putat, ipse est laruatus.

At tibi, Aemiliane, pro isto mendacio duit deus iste 64 superum et inferum commeator utrorumque deorum malam gratiam semperque obuias species mortuorum, quidquid umbrarum est usquam, quidquid lemurum, quidquid manium, quidquid laruarum, oculis tuis oggerat, omnia noctium 5 occursacula, omnia bustorum formidamina, omnia sepulcrorum terriculamenta, a quibus tamen aeuo et merito haud longe abes. ceterum Platonica familia nihil nouimus nisi festum et laetum et sollemne et superum et caeleste. quin altitudinis studio secta ista etiam caelo ipso 10 sublimiora quaepiam uestigauit et in extimo mundi tergo restitit. scit me uera dicere Maximus, qui τὸν ὑπερουράνιον τόπον et οὐρανὸν νῶτον legit in Phaedro diligenter. idem

22 palaestrici *Lindenbrogius*: palaērici *Fφ* (c in s mut. *F*; s *suprascr.* φ) 25 tempora *L*³: tempora *Fφ* 26 autem *del. Riese*
28 uidit *Jahn* 29 laruatus *V*¹*V*³*V*⁵: laruans *Fφ*: larua *M*¹

64. 1 duit *m. al. in mg. F, al. m. in φ*: aut *F* (*sed a in ras. scripsit m. al. di adhuc legi potest*): det φ (*duit suprascrisit m. al.*)

2 *malam *F* (*eraso magnam*): magnam φ (*malam suprascripto*)
8 abes *m. al. in mg. φ*: abest *Fφ* 11 uestiuit *Fφ* (*in F m. al. ga suprascrisit*) extimo (*ex corr.*) *F*: estimo φ *et ante corr. F* 11-12 tergo restitit *Spengel*: t̄goretit *Fφ* (*in F m. al. distinxit*): tergo stetit *Vahlen*: tergore stetit *Helm* 12-13 τοῦτερουράνιον τόπον ετοῦρα | νοῦωτῶ *F* et οὐρανὸν *Vahlen* ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ οὐρανὸν *v secund. Plai. Phaedr.* 247 c

ἄργυρος ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἰδίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς ἐστὶν ἐπίφθονον
κτῆμα, ἐλέφας δὲ ἀπὸ λελοιπότητος ψυχὴν σώματος οὐκ εὖχαρι 20
ἀνάθημα, σίδηρος δὲ καὶ χαλκὸς πολέμων ὄργανα· ξύλον δὲ
μονόξύλον ὃ τι ἂν θέλῃ τις ἀνατιθέτω, καὶ λίθου ὡσαύτως. ut
omnium assensus declarauit, Maxime quique in consilio
estis, competentissime uideor usus Platone ut uitae magi-
stro, ita causae patrono, cuius legibus obedientem me 25
uidetis.

Nunc tempus est ad epistulas Pudentillae praeuerti, uel 66
adeo totius rei ordinem paulo altius petere, ut omnibus
manifestissime pateat me, quem lucri cupiditate inuasisse
Pudentillae domum dicunt, si ullum lucrum cogitarem,
fugere semper a domo ista debuisse, quin et in ceteris 5
causis minime prosperum matrimonium,—nisi ipsa mulier
tot incommoda uirtutibus suis repensaret, inimicum.

Neque enim ulla alia causa praeter cassam inuidiam
reperiri potest, quae iudicium istud mihi et multa antea
pericula uitae conflauerit. ceterum cur Aemilianus com- 10
moueretur, etsi uere magum me comperisset, qui non modo
ullo facto, sed ne tantulo quidem dicto meo laesus est,
ut uideretur se merito ultum ire? neque autem gloriae
causa me accusat, ut M. Antonius Cn. Carbonem, C. Mu-
cius A. Albucium, P. Sulpicius Cn. Norbanum, C. Furius 15
M'. Aquilium, C. Curio Q. Metellum. quippe homines eru-

de καὶ χαλκὸς πολέμῳ | ὄργανα ξύλου de μονόξυ λονοπανθεῶν | τικα-
νατιθῶτω καὶ λιθογωσάτω 19 ἰδίᾳ καὶ] ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ codd. Plat.
20 εὖχαρι Helm: εὐχερὲς v codd. Plat.: εὐαγὲς Clemens Eusebius
23 quique v: quisque Fp 26 Ego . G. CRISPVS SA | LVSTIVS EMEN-
DAVI ROME FELIX . - | APVLEI PLATONICI MADAVRNSIS | PRŌ SĒ APVT . CL .
MAXIMVM . PRŌCŌS DE | MĀGĪA LĪB . Ī . EXPLICIT . INCĪP . LĪB . II . |
LEGE FELICITER . F: eandem inscriptionem habuit φ, sed erasit m.
prima et nonnunquam leuiter mutauit

66. 6 nisi Fφ: et nisi V⁵ 7 inimicum M¹ T: inunicum Fφ:
iniquum uir doctus in mg. ed. Junt. posterioris: inicum Rossbach
14-15 C. Iulius T. Albucium Sauppe 15 C. Norbanum Krüger
L. Fufius Krüger 16 M' Casaubonus: M Fφ homines Fφ:
hi omnes Bosscha: omnes M¹

ditissimi iuuenes laudis gratia primum hoc rudimentum
forensis operae subibant, ut aliquo insigni iudicio ciuibus
suis noscerentur. qui mos incipientibus adulescentulis ad
20 illustrandum ingenii florem apud antiquos concessus diu
exoleuit. quod si nunc quoque frequens esset, tamen ab
hoc procul abfuisset; nam neque facundiae ostentatio rudi
et indocto neque gloriae cupido rustico et barbaro neque
inceptio patrociniorem capulari seni congruisset; nisi forte
25 Aemilianus pro sua seueritate exemplum dedit et ipsis
maleficiis infensus accusationem istam pro morum inte-
gritate suscepit. at hoc ego Aemiliano, non huic Afro,
sed illi Africano et Numantino et praeterea Censorio uix
credidissem: ne huic frutici credam non modo odium
30 peccatorum sed saltem intellectum inesse.

67 Quid igitur est? cuius clare dilucet aliam rem inuidia
nullam esse quae hunc et Herennium Rufinum, impulsorem
huius, de quo mox dicam, ceterosque inimicos meos ad
nectendas magiae calumnias prouocarit. quinque igitur
5 res sunt, quas me oportet disputare. nam si probe memini,
quod ad Pudentillam attinet, haec obiecere: una res est,
quod numquam eam uoluisse nubere post priorem maritum,
sed meis carminibus coactam dixere; altera res est de
epistulis eius, quam confessionem magiae putant; deinde
10 sexagesimo anno aetatis ad lubidinem nupsisse, et quod
in uilla ac non in oppido tabulae nuptiales sint consignatae,
tertio et quarto loco obiecere; nouissima et eadem inuidio-
sissima criminatio de dote fuit. ibi omne uirus totis uiribus
adnixa effundere, ibi maxime angebantur, atque ita dixere
15 me grandem dotem mox in principio coniunctionis nostrae

18 indicio *Meursius*

affuisset ϕ (u *supra* ff. *scr. m. al.*)

67. 1 clare dilucet $I^s I^s T$: claridilucet $F\phi$: clarius dilucet *Helm*:
claret et luget δ : claridius luget M^1 : clarius die luget *Jahn*: claridie
luget *Ellis*

4 quinque *m. rec. in* ϕ : quin $F\phi$

$I^s T$: adnixa $F\phi$: annixa M^1

mm. rec. in mg. ϕ et L^1

effudere $M^1 V^1 D T \delta$: effuderunt

14 adnixa

mulieri amanti remotis arbitris in uilla extorsisse. quae omnia tam falsa, tam nihili, tam inania ostendam adeoque facile et sine ulla controuersia refutabo, ut medius fidius uerear, Maxime quique in consilio estis, ne demissum et subornatum a me accusatorem putetis, ut inuidiam meam ²⁰ reperta occasione palam restinguerem. mihi credite, quod reapse intellegetur: oppido quam mihi laborandum est, ne tam friuolam accusationem me potius callide excogitasse quam illos stulte suscepisse existimetis.

Nunc dum ordinem rei breuiter persequor et efficio, **68** ut ipse Aemilianus re cognita falso se ad inuidiam meam inductum et longe a uero aberrasse necesse habeat confiteri, quaeso, uti adhuc fecistis uel si quo magis etiam potestis, ipsum fontem et fundamentum iudicii huiusce ⁵ diligentissime cognoscatis.

Aemilia Pudentilla, quae nunc mihi uxor est, ex quodam Sicinio Amico, quicum antea nupta fuerat, Pontianum et Pudentem filios genuit eosque pupillos relictos in potestate paterni aui—nam superstitute patre Amicus decesserat—per ¹⁰ annos ferme quattuordecim memorabili pietate sedulo aluit, non tamen libenter in ipso aetatis suae flore tam diu uidua. sed puerorum auus inuitam eam conciliare studebat [ceterum] filio suo Sicinio Claro eoque ceteros procos absterrebat; et praeterea minabatur, si extrario nupsisset, nihil se filiis eius ¹⁵ ex paternis eorum bonis testamento relicturum. quam condicionem cum obstinate propositam uideret mulier sapiens et egregie pia, ne quid filiis suis eo nomine incommodaret,

16 ante amanti lacuna trium litt. F, duarum φ: deamanti Purser
19 demissum Fφ: submissum Wower: immissum Lipsius 22 intellegetur L²V¹: intelletur F: intellegeretur φ

68. 1 efficio L¹AT: officio Fφ 4 fecistis ATδ: feciros Fφ:
feceritis M¹L¹V⁵: fecistis (uos) Ellis 5 mendacii L¹V⁵AT
13 inuita F (add. m. al.): inuita φ ceterum del. Novák:
(in) ceterum Helm: cetero M¹: alteri V⁵: iterum Riese: nurum By-
water 14 filio suo M¹V⁵: filios suos Fφ 15 nupsisset F (t
addidit m. al.): nupsisse φ (set in mg. m. rec.)

facit quidem tabulas nuptiales cum quo iubebatur, cum
 20 Sicinio Claro, uerum enimuero uariis frustrationibus nuptias
 eludit eo ad, dum puerorum auus fato concessit relictis
 filiis eius heredibus ita, ut Pontianus, qui maior natu erat,
 69 fratri suo tutor esset. eo scrupulo liberata cum a principi-
 bus uiris in matrimonium peteretur, decreuit sibi diutius in
 uiduitate non permanendum; quippe ut solitudinis taedium
 perpeti posset, tamen aegritudinem corporis ferre non poterat.
 5 mulier sancte pudica, tot annis uiduitatis sine culpa, sine
 fabula, assuetudine coniugis torpens et diutino situ uiscerum
 saucia, uitiatas intimis uteri saepe ad extremum uitae dis-
 crimen doloribus abortis exanimabatur. medici cum obste-
 tricibus consentiebant penuria matrimonii morbum quae-
 10 situm, malum in dies augeri, aegritudinem ingrauescere;
 dum aetatis aliquid supersit, nuptiis ualeitudinem medi-
 candum. consilium istud cum alii approbant, tum maxime
 Aemilianus iste, qui paulo prius confidentissimo mendacio
 adseuerabat numquam de nuptiis Pudentillam cogitasse,
 15 priusquam foret magicis maleficiis a me coacta, me solum
 repertum, qui uiduitatis eius uelut quandam uirginitatem
 carminibus et uenenis uiolare. saepe audiui non de
 nihilo dici mendacem memorem esse oportere; at tibi,
 Aemiliane, non uenit in mentem, priusquam ego Oeam
 20 uenirem, te litteras etiam, uti nuberet, scripsisse ad filium
 eius Pontianum, qui tum adultus Romae agebat. cedo
 tu epistulam uel potius da ipsi: legat, sua sibi uoce suisque
 uerbis sese reuincat.

Estne haec tua epistula? quid palluisti? nam erube-
 25 scere tu quidem non potes. estne tua ista subscriptio?—
 recita quaeso clarius, ut omnes intellegant, quantum lingua

20 uariis *Lipsius*: uanis *Fφ*
 posteriore

21 coad uir doctus in ed. *Junt.*

69. 4 egritudinē *F* (lineam addidit *m. al.*): egritudine *φ* (*nem*
m. rec.) 6 desuetudine *Casaubonus* 12 approbant *φ*

21 agebat *m. rec. superscriptis* in *φ*: aiebat *Fφ*

eius manu discrepet, quantumque minor illi sit mecum quam secum dissensio.—

Scripsistine haec, Aemiliane, quae lecta sunt? ‘nubere 70 illam uelle et debere scio, sed quem eligat nescio.’ recte tu quidem: nesciebas; Pudentilla enim tibi, cuius infestam malignitatem probe norat, de ipsa re tantum, ceterum de petitore nihil fatebatur. at tu dum eam putas etiamnum 5 Claro fratri tuo denupturam, falsa spe inductus filio quoque eius Pontiano auctor adsentiendi fuisti. igitur si Claro nupsisset, homini rusticano et decrepito seni, sponte eam diceres sine ulla magia iam olim nupturisse: quoniam iuuenem talem qualem dicitis elegit, coactam fecisse ais, 10 ceterum semper nuptias aspernatam. nescisti, improbe, epistulam tuam de ista re teneri, nescisti te tuomet testimonio conuictum iri. quam tamen epistulam Pudentilla testem et indicem tuae uoluntatis, ut quae te leuem et mutabilem nec minus mendacem et impudentem sciret, 15 maluit retinere quam mittere. ceterum ipsa de ea re Pontiano suo Romam scripsit, etiam causas consilii sui plene allegauit. dixit illa omnia de uoletudine: nihil praeterea esse, cur amplius deberet obdurare, hereditatem auitam longa uiduitate cum despectu salutis suae quaesisse, 20 eandem summa industria auxisse; iam deum uoluntate ipsum uxori, fratrem eius uirili togae idoneos esse; tandem aliquando se quoque paterentur solitudini suae et aegritudini subuenire; ceterum de pietate sua et supremo iudicio nihil metuerent; qualis uidua eis fuerit, talem nuptam futuram. 25 recitari iubebo exemplum epistulae huius ad filium missae.

Satis puto ex istis posse cuiuis liquere Pudentillam non 71 meis carminibus ab obstinata uiduitate compulsam, sed

27 manum ϕ quantoque *Pricaeus* illi M^1 : illis $F\phi$ 28
dissensio M^1V^3 (*m. al.*) *T*: dissentio $F\phi$

70. 3 infestam ϕ et *m. al.* in *F*: infesta *F* 10 coactam $M^1V^2V^5$:
coactum $F\phi$ 15 scire $F\phi$ (*in utroque m. al. emendauit*)

olim sua sponte a nubendo non alienam unquam me fortasse
 prae ceteris maluisse. quae electio tam grauis feminae cur
 5 mihi crimini potius quam honori danda sit, non reperio,
 nisi tamen miror quod Aemilianus et Rufinus id iudicium
 mulieris aegre ferant, cum hi, qui Pudentillam in matri-
 monium petiuerunt, aequo animo patiantur me sibi prae-
 latum. quod quidem illa ut faceret, filio suo potius quam
 10 animo obsecuta est. ita factum nec Aemilianus poterit
 negare. nam Pontianus acceptis litteris matris confestim
 Roma aduolauit metuens, ne, si quem auarum uirum nacta
 esset, omnia, ut saepe fit, in mariti domum conferret. ea
 sollicitudo non mediocriter animum angebat, omnes illi
 15 fratrique diuitiarum spes in facultatibus matris sitae erant.
 auus modicum reliquerat, mater sestertium quadragens pos-
 sidebat, ex quo sane aliquantam pecuniam nullis tabulis, sed,
 ut aequum erat, mera fide acceptam filiis debebat. hunc ille
 timorem mussitabat; aduersari propalam non audebat, ne
 20 uidèretur diffidere.

72 Cum in hoc statu res esset inter procationem matris
 et metum fili, fortènè an fato ego aduenio pergens Alex-
 andriam. dixissem hercule 'quod utinam numquam eue-
 nisset', ni me uxoris meae respectus prohiberet. hiemps
 5 anni erat. ego ex fatigatione itineris aduectus apud Appios
 istos amicos meos, quos honoris et amoris gratia nomino,
 aliquam multis diebus decumbo. eo uenit ad me Pontianus;
 nam fuerat mihi non ita pridem [ante multos annos] Athenis
 per quosdam communis amicos conciliatus et arto postea

71. 3 unquam *Bywater*: quam *Fφ*, *om.* *M*¹, *del.* *Novák*: utiquam
Helm: eam uir doctus in *mg. ed. Junt. posterioris* 7 hi *F*: hii
φ: ii v 10 factum nec *φ*: factum, nec *F* 12 Romā *V*¹,
sed - inducto duabus lineolis: Roma *Stewech*: Romam *Fφ*: Roma
Oeam Casaubonus 15 facultabus *F* (ti *suprascr. m. al.*), 19
 aduersari *L*³: auersari *Fφ*

72. 1 inter procationem *Casaubonus*: interpretationem *Fφ*: inter
 precationem *M*¹ 5-6 Appios istos *Krüger*: appio sitos *Fφ*:
 Appios ueteres *V*⁵: Appios (*om.* istos) *L*³*M*¹ 8 ante multos
 annos *seclusit Krüger*

contubernio intime iunctus. facit omnia circa honorem 10
 meum obseruanter, circa salutem sollicite, circa amorem
 callide; quippe etenim uidebatur sibi peridoneum maritum
 matri repperisse, cui bono periculo totam domus fortunam
 concrederet. ac primo quidem uoluntatem meam uerbis
 inuersis periclitabundus, quoniam me uiae cupidum et con- 15
 uersum ab uxoria re uidebat, orat, saltem paulisper manerem:
 uelle se mecum proficisci. hiemem alteram propter Syrtis
 aestus et bestias opperendam, quod illam mihi infirmitas
 emisisset. multis etiam precibus meis Appiis aufert, ut
 ad sese in domum matris suae transferar: salubriorem mihi 20
 habitationem futuram; praeterea prospectum maris, qui
 mihi gratissimus est, liberius me ex ea fruiturum.

Haec omnia adnixus impenso studio persuadet, matrem 73
 suam suumque fratrem, puerum istum, mihi commendat.
 non nihil a me in communibus studiis adiuuantur, augetur
 oppido familiaritas. interibi reualesco; dissero aliquid
 postulantibus amicis publice; omnes qui aderant ingenti 5
 celebritate basilicam, qui locus auditorii erat, complentes
 inter alia pleraque congruentissima uoce 'insigniter' ad-
 clamant petentes, ut remanerem, fierem ciuis Oeensium.
 mox auditorio misso Pontianus eo principio me adortus
 consensum publicae uocis pro diuino auspicio interpretatur 10
 aperitque consilium sibi esse, si ego non nolim, matrem
 suam, cui plurimi inhient, mecum coniungere (mihi quo-
 niam soli ait rerum omnium confidere sese et credere);
 ni id onus recipiam, (quoniam non formosa pupilla, sed
 mediocri facie mater liberorum mihi offeratur)—si haec 15
 reputans formae et diuitiarum gratia me ad aliam condi-
 tionem reseruarem, neque pro amico neque pro philosopho

10 honorem (*ex horem*) ϕ : horem *F* (no *suprascriptit m. rec.*)
 11 salutem ϕ : salutem *F* (e *suprascriptit m. rec.*; *m. prima in mg. .1. addidit*)
 19 meis ab Appiis Hildebrand: me meis *Van der Vliet*:
 me ab amicis meis Appiis *V⁶* 21 prospectu *m. rec. in ϕ*

73. 14 ni id *ed. Junt. posterior: nud F* (ut *suprascriptit m. rec.*):
 ut ϕ 15 sin *Casaubonus*

facturum. nimis multa oratio est, si uelim memorare, quae
 ego contra responderim, quam diu et quotiens inter nos
 20 uerbigeratum sit, quot et qualibus precibus me aggressus
 haud prius omiserit quam denique impetrarit, non quin ego
 Pudentillam iam anno perpeti adsiduo conuictu probe
 spectassem et uirtutum eius dotes explorassem, sed utpote
 peregrinationis cupiens impedimentum matrimonio aliquantis-
 25 per recusaueram. mox tamen talem feminam nihilo segnius
 uolui quam si ultro appetissem. persuaserat idem Pontianus
 matri suae, ut me aliis omnibus mallet, et quam primum hoc
 perficere incredibili studio auebat. uix ab eo tantulam
 moram impetramus, dum prius ipse uxorem duceret, frater
 30 eius uirilis togae usum auspicaretur: tunc deinde ut nos
 coniungeremur.

74 Vtinam hercule possem quae deinde dicenda sunt sine
 maximo causae dispendio transgredi, ne Pontiano, cui
 errorem suum deprecanti simpliciter ignoui, uidear nunc
 leuitatem exprobrare. confiteor enim, quod mihi obiectum
 5 est, eum, postquam uxorem duxerit, a compecti fide de-
 sciuisse ac derepente animi mutatum, quod antea nimio
 studio festinarat, pari pertinacia prohibitum isse, denique
 ne matrimonium nostrum coalesceret, quiduis pati, quiduis
 facere paratum fuisse, quamquam omnis illa tam foeda
 10 animi mutatio et suscepta contra matrem simultas non ipsi
 uitio uortenda sit, sed socero eius eccilli Herennio Rufino,
 qui unum neminem in terris uiliorem se aut improbiorem
 aut inquinatiorem reliquit. paucis hominem, quam mode-
 stissime potero, necessario demonstrabo, ne, si omnino de eo

21 quam denique *m. rec. in mg. φ, M¹V⁵*: quam deque *F* (deoque
m. rec. suprascr.): quandoque *φ* (o induxit et d mutauit in d' *m. nescio*
an prima) 22-23 probes pectassem (-sem *φ*) *Fφ, sed corr. mm.*
aliae uirtutum *φ* 24-25 matrimoniali quantisper *Fφ (recte*
distinxit m. al. in F et supra ni add. i)

74. 5 a compecti *Hildebrand*: a conspecti *Fφ (sed in Fä et in mg.*
"d): a compecta *Coluius*: a conspecta *M¹* 9 tam *M¹*: tum *Fφ*
 13 reliquit (*ex -id*) *φ*: reliquid (*1C suprascr.*) *F* 14 ne si *M¹* (*m.*
prima in mg.): nisi *Fφ*: nam si *m. al. in mg. φ*

reticuero, operam perdiderit, quod negotium istud mihi ex 15
summis uiribus conflauit.

Hic est enim pueruli huius instigator, hic accusationis
auctor, hic aduocatorum conductor, hic testium coemptor,
hic totius calumniae fornacula, hic Aemiliani huius fax et
flagellum, idque apud omnis intemperantissime gloriatur, 20
me suo machinatu reum postulatum. et sane habet in istis
quod sibi plaudet. est enim omnium litium deceptor,
omnium falsorum commentator, omnium simulationum
architectus, omnium malorum seminarium, nec non idem
libidinum ganearumque locus, lustrum, lupanar, iam inde 25
ab ineunte aeuo cunctis probris palam notus, olim in pueritia,
priusquam isto caluitio deformaretur, emasculatoribus suis
ad omnia infanda morigerus, mox in iuuentute saltandis
fabulis exossis plane et eneruis, sed, ut audio, indocta et
rudi mollitia; negatur enim quicquam histrionis habuisse 30
praeter impudicitiam. in hac etiam aetate qua nunc est— 75
qui istum di perduint! multus honos auribus praefandus
est—domus eius tota lenonia, tota familia contaminata:
ipse propudiosus, uxor lupa, filii similes: prorsus diebus
ac noctibus ludibrio iuuentutis ianua calcibus propulsata, 5
fenestrae canticis circumstrepitae, triclinium comissatoribus
inquietum, cubiculum adulteris peruium; neque enim ulli
ad introeundum metus est, nisi qui pretium marito non
attulit. ita ei lecti sui contumelia uestigalis est. olim
sollers suo, nunc coniugis corpore uulgo meret; cum ipso 10
plerique, nec mentior, cum ipso, inquam, de uxoris noctibus

17 hic *F* 23 commentator *M*¹ (*suprascr.* commentor *m.*
al.) 25 locus *F*φ: lutum *Krüger*: lutus *Helm*: lacus *Brantius*

29 exossis φ *et m. rec. in F* (*sed in φ exossis ex exomis uel exomis*
effectum est): exomis *uel exomis F*

75. 1 qua] in qua φ 2 di perduint *Casaubonus*: deperduint
F: deperdunt φ praefandus *M*¹*V*⁵*T*: praefundus *F*φ 4 similes:
prorsus *L*²*V*¹*M*¹: similes prorsus *F*φ 6 commissatoribus
v: comesatoribus *F*φ (*sed in F fuit i*; *mutauit in e m. nescio an*
prima)

- paciscuntur. hic iam illa inter uirum et uxorem nota col-
lusio : qui amplam stipem mulieri detulerunt, nemo eos
obseruat, suo arbitratu discedunt; qui inaniore uenere,
15 signo dato pro adulteris deprehenduntur, et quasi ad discen-
dum uenerint, non prius abeunt quam aliquid scripserint.
quid enim faciat homo miser ampliuscula fortuna deuolutus,
quam tamen fraude patris ex inopinato inuenerat? pater
eius plurimis creditoribus defaeneratus maluit pecuniam
20 quam pudorem; nam cum undique uersum tabulis flagita-
retur et quasi insanus ab omnibus obuiis teneretur, 'pax'
inquit, negat posse dissoluere, anulos aureos et omnia
insignia dignitatis abicit, cum creditoribus depaciscitur.
pleraque tamen rei familiaris in nomen uxoris callidissima
25 fraude confert: ipse egens, nudus et ignominia sua tutus
reliquit Rufino huic, non mentior, sestertium $\overline{\text{xxx}}$ deuo-
randum; tantum enim ad eum ex bonis matris liberum
uenit praeter quod ei uxor sua cotidianis dotibus quaesiuit.
quae tamen omnia in paucis annis ita hic degulator studiose
30 in uentrem condidit et omnimodis collurchinationibus
dilapidauit, ut crederes metuere, ne quid habere ex fraude
paterna diceretur; homo iustus et morum (proborum)
dedit operam, quod male partum erat ut male periret,
nec quicquam ei relictum est ex largiore fortuna praeter
35 ambitionem miseram et profundam gulam.
- 76 Ceterum uxor iam propemodum uetula et effeta tot iam

12 ⁱiam *F* (in *mg. m. rec.* $\dot{\text{h}}\dot{\text{i}}\dot{\text{e}}$): ^hIc iam ϕ (*h al. m. addidit; in mg.*
hinc) illa *F* (inquam *suprascr. m. al.*): inquam illa ϕ nota *m.*
al. in mg. ϕ V^bTM¹: non tam *F ϕ* : non tam (concordia quam) *Helm*
15 et quasi *F* (qui *add. m. rec.*): et qui quasi ϕ (*sed* qui *induxit*
m. al.) 21 pax *Lipsius*: flax *F ϕ* 26 $\overline{\text{xxx}}$ *F ϕ* : xxx
codd. dell. 30 conlucernationibus *Engelbrecht* 32 proborum
add. Van der Vliet: (ueterum) *Scriverius*: (maiorum) *Gruter*: (haud
spernendus) *Scip. Gentilis*

76. 1 effeta ϕ : effecta *F* (c *inducto*) 1-2 tot iam domus *Van*
der Vliet: totam domum *F ϕ* : tota demum *Hildebrand*: iam demum
Floridus: nunc demum *Casaubonus*: tota in domum *Purser*: tot in
domum *coni. Butler*

domus contumeliis abnuit. filia autem per adolescentulos ditiores inuitamento matris suae nequicquam circumlata, quibusdam etiam procis ad experiendum permissa, nisi in facilitatem Pontiani incidisset, fortasse an adhuc uidua 5 ante quam nupta domi sedisset. Pontianus ei multum quidem dehortantibus nobis nuptiarum titulum falsum et imaginarium donauit, non nescius eam paulo ante, quam duceret, a quodam honestissimo iuvene, cui prius pacta fuerat, post satietatem derelictam. uenit igitur ad eum 10 noua nupta secura et intrepida, pudore dispoliato, flore exsoleto, flammeo obsoleto, uirgo rursum post recens repudium, nomen potius afferens puellae quam integritatem. uectabatur octaphoro, uidistis profecto qui adfuestis, quam improba iuuenum circumspectatrix, quam immodica sui osten- 15 tatrix. quis non disciplinam matris agnouit, cum in puella uideret immedicatum os et purpurissatas genas et illices oculos. dos erat a creditore omnis ad teruncium pridie sumpta et quidem grandior, quam domus exhausta et plena liberis postulabat. 20

Sed enim iste, ut est rei modicus, spei immodicus, pari 77 auaritia et egestate totum Pudentillae quadragens praesumptione cassa deuorarat eoque me amoliendum ratus, quo facilius Pontiani facilitatem, Pudentillae solitudinem circumueniret, infit generum suum obiurgare, quod matrem 5 suam mihi desponderat; suadet, quam primum ex tanto periculo, dum licet, pedem referat, rem matris ipse potius habeat quam homini extrario sciens transmittat; ni ita

2 contumeliis] sustinere *add. Helm qui totam domum tuetur abnuit*] obuoluit *Coluius*: obruit *Acidalius*: absoluit *Brantius* 10 derelictam ϕ (a ex u effecto): derelictum *F* (*m. al. u puncto deleuit et a suprascr.*) 11 pudore despolito *F* (a *suprascr. m. prima nec non in mg. dispoliato addidit*): dispoliato pudore ϕ 16 disciplinam *F\phi* (*in F fuit disciplina, correxit m. al.*) 17 immedicatum *M¹V⁵*: imeditatum *F*: meditatum ϕ : medicatum *Hildebrand* 18 teruncium *T*: terruncium *Plasberg*: ternuntium *F\phi*

77. 7 referat *M¹L¹V⁵\delta*: se ferat *F\phi*

faciat, incit scrupulum amanti adolescentulo ueterator,
 10 minatur se filiam abducturum. quid multis? iuuenem
 simplicem, praeterea nouae nuptae illecebris obfrenatum
 suo arbitratu de uia deflectit. it ille ad matrem uerborum
 Rufini gerulus, sed nequicquam temptata eius grauitate
 ultro ipse leuitatis et inconstantiae increpitus reportat ad
 15 socerum haud mollia: matri suae praeter ingenium placidis-
 simum immobili iram quoque sua expostulatione accessisse,
 non mediocre pertinaciae alumentum; respondisse eam
 denique non clam se esse Rufini exoratione secum expostu-
 lari; eo uel magis sibi auxilium mariti aduersum eius
 20 desperatam auaritiam comparandum.

78 Hisce auditis exacerbatus aquariolus iste uxoris suae ita
 ira extumuit, ita exarsit furore, ut in feminam sanctissimam
 et pudicissimam praesente filio eius digna cubiculo suo
 diceret, amatricem eam, me magum et ueneficum clamitaret
 5 multis audientibus (quos, si uoles, nominabo): se mihi sua
 manu mortem allaturum. uix hercule possum irae moderari,
 ingens indignatio animo oboritur. tene, effeminatissime,
 tua manu cuiquam uiro mortem minitari? at qua tandem
 manu? Philomelae an Medae an Clytemestrae? quas
 10 tamen cum saltas—tanta mollitia animi, tanta formido ferri
 est—, sine cludine saltas. sed ne longius ab ordine digre-
 diar: Pudentilla postquam filium uidet praeter opinionem
 contra suam esse sententiam deprauatum, rus profecta
 scripsit ad eum obiurgandi gratia illas famosissimas litteras,
 15 quibus, ut isti aiebant, confessa est sese mea magia in
 amorem inductam dementire; quas tamen litteras tabulario

16 immobili *Jahn*: immobile *Fφ* 17 alumentum uel alumentum
F: adiumentum *φ*: alimentum *D*: alimentum (u *suprascr.*) *L*²: alu-
 mentum *V*¹: alimenta *L*¹ 18 ex oratione *V*¹*V*⁵

78. 3 dignam *φ* (*corr. m. rec. in mg.*) 7. tene *Hildebrand*:
 tune *Fφ* 8 minitari *Fφ*: minitaris *V*⁵*D* 9 anme—deae an
 clite = mīstrae *F* (— *post anme m. rec.*): an me de ae an clite mīstrae *φ*
 (*supra m̄ erasa linea e scripsit m. al.*) 10 cum saltas *Lipsius*:
 consultas *Fφ* 14 formosissimas *φ* et *m. rec. in F*

Pontiani praesente et contra scribente Aemiliano nudius
 tertius tuo iussu, Maxime, testato descripsimus; in quibus
 omnia contra praedicationem istorum pro me reperiuntur.
 quamquam, etsi destrius magum me dixisset, posset 79
 uideri excusabunda se filio uim meam quam uoluntatem
 suam causari maluisse. an sola Phaedra falsum epistolium
 de amore commenta est, ac non omnibus mulieribus haec
 ars usitata est, ut, cum aliquid eius modi uelle coeperunt, 5
 malint coactae uideri? quod si etiam animo ita putauit, me
 magum esse, idcircone magus habear, quia hoc scripsit
 Pudentilla? uos tot argumentis, tot testibus, tanta oratione
 magum me non probatis: illa uno uerbo probaret? et quanto
 tandem grauius habendum est quod in iudicio subscribitur 10
 quam quod in epistula scribitur. quin tu me meismet factis,
 non alienis uerbis reuincis? ceterum eadem uia multi rei
 cuiusuis maleficii postulabuntur, si ratum futurum est quod
 quisque in epistula sua uel amore uel odio cuiuspiam
 scripserit. 'magum te scripsit Pudentilla: igitur magus 15
 es.' quid, si consulem me scripsisset, consul essem? quid
 enim, si pictorem, si medicum, quid denique, si innocentem?
 num aliquid horum putares idcirco, quod illa dixisset?
 nihil scilicet. atqui periniurium est ei fidem in peioribus
 (habere, cui in melioribus) non haberes, posse litteras eius ad 20
 perniciem, non posse ad salutem. 'sed' inquit '(inquires)
 animi fuit, efflictim te amabat.' concedo interim. num
 tamen omnes qui amantur magi sunt, si hoc forte qui amat
 scripserit? credo nunc quod Pudentilla me in eo tempore
 non amabat, siquidem id foras scripsit, quod palam erat 25

79. 2 excusabunda se *V⁵*: excusabundus e *Fφ* (-da *m. rec. in φ*):
 excusabunda et *D* 4 ac *Novák Plasberg*: at *Fφ*: an *V⁵* 11 quin
 tu me *L³ m. al. in φ*: quintum *Fφ*: quid non *M¹* 20 habere cui
 in melioribus *add. V¹V⁵L³ (m. rec. in mg.) et m. XVI saec. in mg. φ*:
 habet cum in melioribus *D* 21-22 inquit (inquires) animi *scripsimus*
 (inquires animi iam *Hildebrand*): inquit animi *Fφ m. 1*: inquit animi
φ m. al.: inquieti animi *V⁵*: inquit (impos) animi *Van der Vliet*: inquit
 animi (furens) *Helm* 24 credo *Salmasius*: cedo *Fφ*

80 mihi obfuturum. postremo quid uis, sanam an insanam
 fuisse, dum scriberet? sanam dices? nihil ergo erat
 magicis artibus passa. insanam respondebis? nesciit ergo
 quid scripserit, eoque ei fides non habenda est; immo
 5 etiam, si fuisset insana, insanam se esse nescisset. nam ut
 absurde facit qui tacere se dicit, quod ibidem dicendo
 tacere sese non tacet et ipsa professione quod profitetur
 infirmat, ita uel magis hoc repugnat: 'ego insanio', quod
 uerum non est, nisi sciens dicit; porro sanus est, qui scit
 10 quid sit insania, quippe insania scire se non potest, non
 magis quam caecitas se uidere. igitur Pudentilla compos
 mentis fuit, si compotem mentis se non putabat. possum,
 si uelim, pluribus, sed mitto dialectica. ipsas litteras longe
 aliud clamantis et quasi dedita opera ad iudicium istud
 15 praeparatas et accommodatas recitabo. accipe tu et lege,
 usque dum ego interloquar.

Sustine paulisper quae secuntur; nam ad deuerticulum
 rei uentum est. adhuc enim, Maxime, quantum equidem
 animaduerti, nusquam mulier magian nominauit, sed ordi-
 20 nem repetiuit eundem, quem ego paulo prius, de longa
 uiduitate, de remedio uoletudinis, de uoluntate nubendi,
 de meis laudibus, quas ex Pontiano cognouerat, de suasu
 ipsius, ut mihi potissimum nuberet.

81 Haec usque adhuc lecta sunt. superest ea pars epistulae,
 quae similiter pro me scripta in memet ipsum uertit cornua,
 ad expellendum a me crimen magiae sedulo missa memora-
 bili fraude Rufini uicem mutauit et ultro contrariam mihi
 5 opinionem quorundam Oeensium quasi mago quaesiuit.
 multa fando, Maxime, audisti, etiam plura legendo didicisti,
 non pauca experiendo comperisti: sed enim uersutiam tam
 insidiosam, tam admirabili scelere conflata negabis te

81. 3 missa *Casaubonus*: omissa *Fφ*: emissa *Lipsius*: dimissa
Boscha: obnisa *M*¹ 4 fraude *Acidalius*: laude *Fφ* uicem
Lipsius: uice *Fφ*: uocem *Casaubonus*

umquam cognouisse. quis Palamedes, quis Sisyphus, quis denique Eurybates aut Phrynondas talem excogitasset? 10 omnes isti quos nominaui et si qui praeterea fuerunt dolo memorandi, si cum hac una Rufini fallacia contenduntur, macci prorsus et buccones uidebuntur. o mirum commentum! o subtilitas digna carcere et robore! quis credat effici potuisse, ut, quae defensio fuerat, eadem manentibus 15 eisdem litteris in accusationem transuerteretur? est hercule incredibile. sed hoc incredibile qui sit factum, probabo.

Obiurgatio erat matris ad filium, quod me, talem uirum 82 qualem sibi praedicasset, nunc de Rufini sententia magum dictitaret. uerba ipsa ad hunc modum se habebant: 'Απολείος μάγος, καὶ ἐγὼ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μεμάγευμαι καὶ ἐρῶ. ἐλθὲ τοίνυν πρὸς ἐμέ, ἕως ἔτι σωφρονῶ. haec ipsa uerba Rufinus 5 quae Graece interposui sola excerpta et ab ordine suo seiugata quasi confessionem mulieris circumferens et Pontianum flentem per forum ductans uulgo ostendebat, ipsas mulieris litteras illatenus qua dixi legendas praebebat, cetera supra et infra scripta occultabat; turpiora esse quam ut 10 ostenderentur dictitabat: satis esse confessionem mulieris de magia cognosci. quid quaeris? ueri simile omnibus uisum; quae purgandi mei gratia scripta erant, eadem mihi immanem inuidiam apud imperitos conciuere. turbabat impurus hic in medio foro bacchabundus, epistulam saepe 15 aperiens proquirabat: 'Apuleius magus; dicit ipsa quae sentit et patitur; quid uultis amplius?' nemo erat qui pro me ferret ac sic responderet: 'totam sodes epistulam cedo: sine omnia inspiciam, (a) principio ad finem perlegam. multa sunt, quae sola prolata calumniae possint uideri 20

9 Sisyphus *v*: sisyphas *Fφ*
buccones *v*: bocchones *Fφ*

13 macci *v*: macchi *F*: machi *φ*

82. 4-5 ἀπωλειος μαγος· καὶ ἐγὼ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μεμαγευμαι καὶ ἐπαίε-
θετώ|nyn προσ ἐμε ἕως ἐτι σωφρονῶ *F*; cf. c. 83. 6 sqq., c. 87. 19
4-5 ἐλθέτω νῦν *v* (sc. τίς *Spengel*): ἐλθὲ τοίνυν *Bosscha* 17 qui]
qui (sententiam) *Novak* 18 ferret *Fφ*: faceret *Colvius*: staret
Stewech: foret *Acidalius* 19 a add. *Krüger*

obnoxia. cuiusvis oratio insimulari potest, si ea quae ex prioribus nexa sunt principio sui defrudentur, si quaedam ex ordine scriptorum ad lubricum supprimantur, si quae simulationis causa dicta sunt adseuerantis pronuntiatione quam
25 exprobrantis legantur.' haec et id genus ea quam merito tunc dici potuerunt ; ipse ordo epistulae ostendat.

83 At tu, Aemiliane, recognosce, an et haec mecum testato descripseris : βουλομένην γάρ με δι' ἃς εἶπον αἰτίας γαμηθῆναι, αὐτὸς ἔπεισας τοῦτον ἀντὶ πάντων αἰρεῖσθαι, θαυμάζων τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ σπουδάζων αὐτὸν οἰκεῖον ἡμῖν δι' ἐμοῦ ποιεῖσθαι. νῦν
5 δὲ ὡς κατήγοροι ἡμῶν κακοήθεις σε ἀναπείθουσιν, αἰφνίδιον ἐγένετο Ἀπολείος μάγος, καὶ ἐγὼ μεμάγευμαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐρῶ. ἐλθὲ τοίνυν πρὸς ἐμέ, ἕως ἔτι σωφρονῶ.

Oro te, Maxime, si litterae ita, ut partim uocales dicuntur, etiam propriam uocem usurparent, si uerba ita, ut poetae
10 aiunt, pinnis apta uulgo uolarent, nonne, cum primum epistulam istam Rufinus mala fide exciperet, pauca legeret, multa et meliora sciens reticeret, nonne tunc ceterae litterae scelestae se detineri proclamassent, uerba suppressa de Rufini manibus foras euolassent, totum forum tumultu complerent :
15 'se quoque a Pudentilla missas, sibi etiam quae dicerent mandata ; improbo ac nefario homini per alienas litteras falsum facere temptanti nec auscultarent, sibi potius audirent ; Apuleium magiae non accusatum a Pudentilla, sed accusante

26 potuerint *M¹V^o* post potuerunt grauiter distinxit Rossbach

83. 2-7 βουλομένην | non γαρ μεδία (al m. add. suprascr. *) εἶπον αἰτίας γαμηθῆναι | αἰτος εἰσας τοῦτον ἀντιπαντοῖαν | εἰσθαί θαυμάζων τὸν ἀνδρα καὶ σπουδάζων | δαζων αἰστον οἰκίον ἡμῖν διεμοῦπο | θισαί νυνδεως μακαροῖημῶ καικοῇ θεις τε ἀνα πειθοῖς αἰφνιδιον ἐγενετο | ἀπο λειοσμαροσκαίεγαμεμαγεῦμαι | υπαγτοῦ. καὶ ἐρωσλεπο νυνιτροε-
νιεω | εἰρισαφρονω in mg. al. m. Graeca repetiuit qualia uulgo eduntur (v. 4 σπουδάζων ἡμῖν αὐτὸν οἰκεῖον ἡμῖν . . . ποιῆσαι) F 4 ἡμῖν] ὑμῖν Salmasius ποιεῖσθαι Spengel : πορίσαι Petschenig 5 κατήγοροι Diels : μακαριοι, μοχθηροι suprascripto m. al. in mg. F : μοχθηροὶ ὑμῶς Casaubonus : μοχθηροὶ ἡμῖν Bosscha : κακήγοροι Helm κακοήθεις] καὶ κακοήθεις Helm σε Bosscha 6-7 καὶ ἐρως ἐλθέτω νῦν in mg. al. m. in F 10 uolarent φ : uolarent F (a suprascr. m. al.)

Rufino absolutum ?' quae omnia etsi tum dicta non sunt, tamen nunc, cum magis prosunt, luce illustrius apparent. 20 patent artes tuae, Rufine, fraudes hiant, detectum mendacium est : ueritas olim interuersa nunc se effert et uelut alto barathro calumnia se mergit.

Ad litteras Pudentillae prouocastis : litteris uinco, quarum 84 si uultis extremam quoque clausulam audire, non inuidebo. dic tu, quibus uerbis epistulam finierit mulier obcantata, uecors, amens, amans : Ἐγὼ οὐτε μεμάγευμαι οὐτ' ἐρῶ. τὴν εἰμαρμένην †ἐκφ.† etiamne amplius ? reclamationis Puden- 5 tillae et sanitatem suam a uestris calumniis quodam praeconio uindicat. nubendi autem seu rationem seu necessitatem fato adscribit, a quo multum magia remota est uel potius omnino sublata. quae enim relinquitur uis cantaminibus et ueneficiis, si fatum rei cuiusque ueluti uiolentissimus 10 torrens neque retineri potest neque impelli ? igitur hac sententia sua Pudentilla non modo me magum, sed omnino esse magian negauit. bene, quod integras epistulas matris Pontianus ex more adseruauit ; bene, quod uos festinatio iudicii anteuortit, ne quid in istis litteris ex otio nouaretis. 15 tuum hoc, Maxime, tuaeque prouidentiae beneficium est, quod a principio intellectas calumnias, ne corroborarentur tempore, praecipitasti et nulla impertita mora subneruiasti. finge nunc aliquid matrem filio secretis litteris de amore, uti adsolet, confessam. hocine uerum fuit, Rufine, hoc non 20 dico pium, sed saltem humanum, prouulgari eas litteras et potissimum fili praeconio publicari ? sed sumne ego

22 nunc φ : nun F (c add. m. al.) effert M¹ et m. recentiss. in
mg. φ : fert Fφ 23 calumnia Elmenhorst : calumnias Fφ : calum-
niae v se mergit Elmenhorst · emergit Fφ

84. 1 (istis) litteris Haupt : (his) litteris Sauppe 4-5 εἰς οὐτε-
μεμαγεῖμαι οὐττερω τὴν εἰμαρμένην εκφ. F locus uix sanandus
5 ἐκφέρουσα Spengel : ἐκφέρω coni. Butler : ἔχω Rossbach 14 adser-
uauit M¹L³V¹T : adseruabit Fφ 18 nulla impertita mora M¹V¹T :
nullam impertitam ora Fφ subneruasti M¹ : eneruiasti L³
22 sumne Acidalius : sum Fφ

inscitus, qui postulo, ut alienum pudorem conserues qui
tuum perdideris?

- 85 Cur autem praeterita conqueror, cum non sint minus
acerba praesentia? hocusque a uobis miserum istum puerum
deprauatum, ut matris suae epistulas quas putat amatorias
pro tribunali proconsulari recitet apud uirum sanctissimum
5 Claudium Maximum, ante has imperatoris Pii statuas filius
matri suae pudenda exprobret stupra et amores obiectet?
quis tam est mitis quin exacerbescat? tune, ultime, parentis
tuae animum in istis scrutaris, oculos obseruas, suspiritus
numeras, adfectiones exploras, tabulas intercipis, amorem
10 reuincis? tune, quid in cubiculo agat, perquiris, ne mater
tua non dico amatrix, sed ne omnino femina sit? (nihil)ne
tu in ea cogitas nisi unam parentis religionem? o infelix
uterum tuum, Pudentilla, o sterilitas liberis potior, o infausti
decem menses, o ingrati XIII anni uiduitatis! uipera, ut
15 audio, exeso matris utero in lucem proserpit atque ita parri-
cidio gignitur: at enim tibi a filio iam adulto acerbiores
morsus uiuenti et uidenti offeruntur. silentium tuum lania-
tur, pudor tuus carpitur, pectus tuum foditur, uiscera
intima protrahuntur. hascine gratias bonus filius matri
20 rependis ob datam uitam, ob acquisitam hereditatem, ob
XIII annorum longas alimonias? hiscine te patruus disci-
plinis erudiuit, ut, si compertum habeas filios tibi similes
futuros, non audeas ducere uxorem? est ille poetae uorsus
non ignotus: 'odi puerulos praecoqui sapientia,' sed enim
25 malitia praecoqui puerum quis non auersetur atque oderit,
cum uideat uelut monstrum quoddam prius robustum scelere
quam tempore, ante nocentem quam potentem, uiridi pueri-

23 inscitus *Vulcanius*: inscius *Fφ*

85. 4 proconsulari *Helm*: proconsul *Fφ*: proconsuli *M¹*: procon-
sulis *Van der Vliet* 5 im. $\frac{p}{p}$ *F* 7 tune *L³*: tunc *Fφ*
ultime *Pricaeus*: ultimo *Fφ*: ultro *v* 10 ne *Fφ*: (tibi)ne *Haupt*
11 sit *Van der Vliet*: est *Fφ* nihilne *Helm*: ne *Fφ*, quo retento
Van der Vliet nihil post ea addit 26 robustum *Coluius*: robustos
Fφ: robusto *Bosscha*

tia, cana malitia? uel potius hoc magis noxium, quod cum uenia perniciosus est et nondum poenae, iam iniuriae sufficit —iniuriae dico? immo enim sceleri aduersum parentem 30 nefando, immani, impetibili.

Athenienses quidem propter commune ius humanitatis 86 ex captiuis epistulis Philippi Macedonis hostis sui unam epistulam, cum singulae publice legerentur, recitari prohibuerunt, quae erat ad uxorem Olympiadem conscripta; hosti potius pepercerunt, ne maritale secretum diuulgarent, 5 praeferendum rati fas commune propriae ultioni. tales hostes aduersum hostem: tu qualis filius aduersum matrem! uides, quam similia contendam. tu tamen filius matris epistulas de amore, ut ais, scriptas in isto coetu legis, in quo si aliquem poetam lasciuiorem iubereris legere, profecto non 10 auderes; pudore tamen aliquo impedirere. immo enim nunquam matris tuae litteras attigisses, si ullas alias litteras attigisses. at quam ausus es tuam ipsius epistulam legendam dare, quam nimis irreuerenter, nimis contumeliose et turpiter de matre tua scriptam, cum adhuc in eius sinu alerere, 15 miseras clanculo ad Pontianum, scilicet ne semel peccasses ac tam bonum tuum factum obliuio capesseret! miser, non intellegis idcirco patrum tuum hoc fieri passum, quod se hominibus purgaret, si ex litteris tuis nosceretur te etiam prius, quam ad eum commigrasses, etiam cum matri blandi- 20 rere, tamen iam tum uolpionem et impium fuisse. ceterum 87 nequeo in animum inducere tam stultum Aemilianum esse, ut arbitretur mihi litteras pueri et eiusdem accusatoris mei obfuturas.

Fuit et illa commenticia epistula neque mea manu scripta 5

86. 11 abnueres *Wower* 13 ad quam *Fφ*, sed ad *pro at*, ut *persaepe*, scriptum est 17 obliuio *Casaubonus*: optuto *Fφ*: obtutu *m. al. in mg. φ quae etiam* optato *scripsit* (obtutu careret *Vulcanius*)
19 tuis *L¹L²V⁶AT*: suis *Fφ*

87. 2 nequeo in animum *M¹*: neque *inanimum (*fuit* unanimum)
F: *nq̄* inanimum *φ* 3 mei *em. L³ m. al. in φ*: me *Fφ*

neque ueri similiter conficta, qua uideri uolebant blanditiis a me mulierem sollicitatam. cur ego blandirem, si magia confidebam? qua autem uia ad istos peruenit epistula, ad Pudentillam scilicet per aliquem fidelem missa, ut in re tali
 10 accurari solet? cur praeterea tam uitiosis uerbis, tam barbaro sermone ego scriberem, quem idem dicunt nequaquam Graecae linguae imperitum? cur autem tam absurdis tamque tabernariis blanditiis subigitarem, quem idem aiunt uorsibus amatoriis satis scite lasciuire? sic est profecto, cuiuis palam
 15 est: hic, qui epistulam Pudentillae Graecatiorem legere non potuerat, hanc ut suam facilius legit et aptius commendauit.

Sed iam de epistulis satis dictum habebo, si hoc unum addidero: Pudentillam, quae scripserat dissimulamenti causa et deridiculi: ἐλθὲ τοίνυν, ἕως ἔτι σωφρονῶ, post hasce litteras
 20 euocasse ad se filios et nurum, cum his ferme duobus mensibus conuersatam. dicat hic pius filius, quid in eo tempore sequius agentem uel loquentem matrem suam propter insaniam uiderit; neget eam rationibus uilliconum et upilionum et equisonum sollertissime subscripsisse; neget fratrem
 25 suum Pontianum grauiter ab ea monitum, ut sibi ab insidiis Rufini caueret; neget uere obiurgatum, quod litteras, quas ad eum miserat, uulgo circumtulisset nec tamen bona fide legisset; neget post ista quae dixi matrem suam mihi apud
 88 uillam iam pridem conducto loco nupsisse. quippe ita placuerat, in suburbana uilla potius ut coniungeremur, ne ciues denuo ad sportulas conuolarent, cum haud pridem Pudentilla de suo quinquaginta milia nummum (in) populum
 5 expunxisset ea die, qua Pontianus uxorem duxit et hic puerulus toga est inuolutus, praeterea, ut conuiuuiis multis ac molestiis supersederemus, quae ferme ex more nouis maritis obeunda sunt.

10 accurari *Hildebrand*: accusari *F*φ: actitari *M*¹ 16 apertius
*L*³ *Lipsius* commentauit *Lipsius* 19 ἐλθὲτωνυνεωσέτισοφρονο
F 26 uero φ: seuerē *Krüger*

88. 4 in *add.* φ *m. rec.* 7 molestis *L*³

Habes, Aemiliane, causam totam, cur tabulae nuptiales inter me ac Pudentillam non in oppido sint, sed in uilla 10 suburbana consignatae: ne quinquaginta milia nummum denuo profundenda essent nec tecum aut apud te cenandum. estne causa idonea? miror tamen, quod tu a uilla tantopere abhorreas, qui plerumque rure uersere. lex quidem Iulia de maritandis ordinibus nusquam sui ad hunc modum inter- 15 dicit: 'uxorem in uilla ne ducito'; immo, si uerum uelis, uxor ad prolem multo auspicius in uilla quam in oppido ducitur, in solo uberi quam in loco sterili, in agri cespite quam in fori silice. mater futura in ipso materno sinu nubat, in segete adulta, super fecundam glebam, uel enim 20 sub ulmo marita cubet, in ipso gremio terrae matris, inter suboles herbarum et propagines uitium et arborum germina. ibi et ille celeberrimus in comoediis uorsus de proximo congruit:

παίδων ἐπ' ἀρότῳ, γνησίῳ ἐπὶ σπορᾷ. 25

Romanorum etiam maioribus Quintis et Serranis et multis aliis similibus non modo uxores, uerum etiam consulatus et dictaturae in agris offerebantur. cohibebo me in tam prolixo loco, ne tibi gratum faciam, si uillam laudauero.

De aetate uero Pudentillae, de qua post ista satis confi- 89 denter mentitus es, ut etiam sexaginta annos natam diceres nupsisse, de ea tibi paucis respondebo: nam non necesse est in re tam perspicua pluribus disputare.

Pater eius natam sibi filiam more ceterorum professus est. 5 tabulae eius partim tabulario publico partim domo adseruantur, quae iam tibi ob os obiciuntur. porrige tu Aemiliano

13 tu a uilla *v*: tuam uillam *Fφ* 15 nusquam *M¹*: nunquam *Fφ*
19-20 sinu nubat *Acidalius*: si nubat *Fφ* 21 matris *M¹*: matres
Fφ 25 παίδων ἐπ' ἀρότῳ ἐπὶ σπορᾷ *F* ἐπὶ σπορᾷ *delet Helm*
26 Quintiis *L³V⁵* 28 cohibebo *M¹*: cohibebam *Fφ*: cohibeam
Helm: cohibeo *Van der Vliet*

89. 3 non necesse *Novák*: necesse non *φ*: necesse *F* (non *add. m. rec.*)

- tabulas istas : linum consideret, signa quae impréssa sunt
 recognoscat, consules legat, annos computet, quos sexaginta
 10 mulieri adsignabat. probet quinque et quinquaginta : lustro
 mentitus sit. parum hoc est, liberalius agam—nam et ipse
 Pudentillae multos annos largitus est, redonabo igitur
 uicissim decem annos —, Mezentius cum Vluxe errauit : quin-
 quaginta saltem annorum mulierem ostendat. quid multis ?
 15 ut cum quadruplatore agam, bis duplum quinquennium
 faciam, uiginti annos semel detraham. iube, Maxime, con-
 sules computari : nisi fallor, inuenies nunc Pudentillae haud
 multo amplius quadragensimum annum aetatis ire. o falsum
 audax et nimium, o mendacium uiginti annorum exilio
 20 puniendum. dimidio tanta, Aemiliane, mentiris, falsa audes
 sesquialtera. si triginta annos pro decem dixisses, posses
 uideri computationis gestu errasse, quos circulari debueris
 digitos aperuisse. cum uero quadraginta, quae facilius
 ceteris porrecta palma significantur, ea quadraginta tu
 25 dimidio auges, non potes digitorum gestu errasse, nisi forte
 triginta annorum Pudentillam ratus binos cuiusque anni
 consules numerasti.
- 90 Missa haec facio. uenio nunc ad ipsum stirpem accu-
 sationis, ad ipsam causam maleficii. respondeat Aemilianus
 et Rufinus, ob quod emolumentum, etsi maxime magus
 forem, Pudentillam carminibus et uenenis ad matrimonium
 5 pellexissem. atque ego scio plerosque reos alicuius faci-
 noris postulatos, si fuisse quaepiam causae probarentur, hoc
 uno se tamen abunde defendisse, uitam suam procul ab
 huiusmodi sceleribus abhorreere nec id sibi obesse debere,
 quod uideantur quaedam fuisse ad male faciendum inuita-

15 ut (qui) *Helm* bis* *F* (ex huis) : his ϕ 20-21 audes
 sesquialtera $M^1 L^1 V^5 T$ (sesquialtera M^1 : sexque altera L^1) : audes-
 sesque altera $F\phi$: audes et sesquialtera *Casaubonus* 23 aperuisse
 V^5 : adperisse *F* : aperisse ϕ : adgessisse *Helm* 25 potes $V^1 V^5$:
 potest $F\phi$

90 1 ipsum $F\phi$: ipsam v 9 malefaciendum V^1 : malefa-
 ciendum L^3 : maleficiendum $F\phi$: maleficiendum *D*

menta; non enim omnia quae fieri potuerint pro factis 10
 habenda, rerum uices uarias euenire: certum indicem cuius-
 que animum esse. qui semper eodem ingenio ad uirtutem
 uel malitiam moratus firmum argumentum est accipiendi
 criminis aut respuendi. haec ego quamquam possim merito
 dicere, tamen uobis condono nec satis mihi duco, si me 15
 omnium quae insimulastis abunde purgavi, si nusquam
 passus sum uel exiguum suspicionem magiae consistere.
 reputate uobiscum, quanta fiducia innocentiae meae quanto-
 que despectu uestri agam: si una causa uel minima fuerit
 inuenta, cur ego debuerim Pudentillae nuptias ob aliquod 20
 meum commodum appetere, si quamlibet modicum emolu-
 mentum probaueritis, ego ille sim Carmendas uel Damigeron
 uel † his † Moses uel Iannes uel Apollobex uel ipse Dardanus
 uel quicumque alius post Zoroastren et Ostanen inter
 magos celebratus est. 25

Vide quaeso, Maxime, quem tumultum suscitarent, quo- 91
 niam ego paucos magorum nominatim percensui. quid
 faciam tam rudibus, tam barbaris? doceam rursum haec
 et multo plura alia nomina in bibliothecis publicis apud
 clarissimos scriptores me legisse an disputem longe aliud 5
 esse notitiam nominum, aliud artis eiusdem communionem,
 nec debere doctrinae instrumentum et eruditionis memoriam
 pro confessione criminis haberi an, quod multo praestabilius
 est, tua doctrina, Claudii Maxime, tuaque perfecta eruditione
 fretus contemnam stultis et impolitibus ad haec respondere? 10
 ita potius faciam: quid illi existiment, nauci non putabo;

10 potuerint ϕ (ue in ras.): poterint F 13 uel] uel ad $F\phi$ (sed ad
punctis del. F) 16 si nusquam $M^1L^2L^3$; sinus quam F : sinusquam
 ϕ : nisi nusquam *Acidalius*: sin usquam *Bywater*: si usquam *Kroll*
 22 Tarmoendas *Krüger Dieterich* 23 his mores F : hismesos
 ϕ : is Moses *Ian. Parrhasius*: Velus uel Moses *Krüger*: Hisus uel
 Moses *Bosscha*: Iudaeus Moses et his maiores Moses *coni. Helm*
 Iannes *Colvius*: Iohannes $F\phi$ Apollobex *Helm*: apollo haec $F\phi$:
 Apollobeches *Krüger* 24 alius $M^1L^2L^3V^1V^5D$: alias $F\phi$

91. 11 nauci *m. rec. in mg.* ϕ : nacci $F\phi$

quod institui, pergam disputare: nullam mihi causam fuisse Pudentillam ueneficiis ad nuptias prolectandi.

Formam mulieris et aetatem ipsi ultro improbauerunt
 15 idque mihi uitio dederunt, talem uxorem causa auaritiae concupisse atque adeo primo dotem in congressu grandem et uberem rapuisse. ad haec, Maxime, longa oratione fatigare te non est consilium; nihil uerbis opus est, cum multo disertius ipsae tabulae loquantur, in quibus omnia
 20 contra, quam isti ex sua rapacitate de me quoque coniectauerunt, facta inpraesentiarum et prouisa in posterum deprehendis: iam primum mulieris locupletissimae modicam dotem neque eam datam, sed tantum modo (commodatam), praeter haec ea condicione factam coniunctionem, nullis ex
 25 me susceptis liberis (si) uita demigrasset, uti dos omnis apud filios eius Pontianum et Pudentem maneret, sin uero uno unaue superstite diem suum obisset, uti tum diuidua pars dotis posteriori filio, reliqua prioribus cederet.

92 Haec, ut dico, tabulis ipsis docebo. fors fuat an ne sic quidem credat Aemilianus sola trecenta milia nummum scripta eorumque repetitionem filiis Pudentillae pacto datam. cape sis ipse tu manibus tuis tabulas istas, da impulsori
 5 tuo Rufino: legat, pudeat illum tumidi animi sui et ambitiosae mendicitatis; quippe ipse egens, nudus cccc milibus nummum a creditore acceptis filiam dotaui, Pudentilla locuples femina trecentis milibus dotis fuit contenta et maritum habet, et multis saepe et ingentibus dotibus spretis,
 10 inani nomine tantulae dotis contentum, ceterum praeter uxorem suam nihil computantem, omnem supellectilem cunctasque diuitias in concordia coniugii et mutuo amore

23 commodatam add. Purser: creditam Helm: promissam addunt L³V¹V⁵ et m. saec. XVI in φ 24 coniunctionem Casaubonus: coniectionem F; coniectionem φ (at punctis del.): conuentionem M¹ nullis] si nullis v 25 si add. M¹: om. Fφ 27 dimidia M¹

92. 1 fuat F: fuerat φ 4 cape sis Jahn: capens F: capens (i suprascr.) φ 12 coniugii Casaubonus: coniugis Fφ: coniugali Scalige mutuo Lipsius; multo Fφ

ponentem. quamquam quis omnium uel exigue rerum
 peritus culpae auderet, si mulier uidua et mediocri forma,
 at non aetate mediocri, nubere uolens longa dote et molli 15
 condicione inuitasset iuuenem neque corpore neque animo
 neque fortuna paenitendum? uirgo formosa etsi sit oppido
 pauper, tamen abunde dotata est; affert quippe ad maritum
 nouum animi indolem, pulchritudinis gratiam, floris rudi-
 mentum. ipsa uirginitatis commendatio iure meritoque 20
 omnibus maritis acceptissima est; nam quodcumque aliud
 in dotem acceperis, potes, cum libuit, ne sis beneficio
 obstrictus, omne ut acceperas retribuere, pecuniam renume-
 rare, mancipia restituere, domo demigrare, praediis cedere:
 sola uirginitas cum semel accepta est, reddi nequitur, sola 25
 apud maritum ex rebus dotalibus remanet. uidua autem
 qualis nuptiis uenit, talis diuortio digreditur; nihil affert
 irreposcibile, sed uenit iam ab alio praeeflorata, certe tibi ad
 quae uelis minime docilis, non minus suspectans nouam
 domum quam ipsa iam ob unum diuortium suspectanda, 30
 siue illa morte amisit maritum, ut scaeui ominis mulier
 et infausti coniugii minime appetenda, seu repudio digressa
 est, utramuis habens culpam mulier, quae aut tam intolera-
 bilis fuit, ut repudiaretur, aut tam insolens, ut repudiaret.
 ob haec et alia uiduae dote aucta procos sollicitant. quod 35
 Pudentilla quoque in alio marito fecisset, si philosophum
 spernentem dotis non repperisset.

Age uero, si auaritiae causa mulierem concupissem, quid 93
 mihi utilius ad possidendam domum eius fuit quam simul-
 tatem inter matrem et filios serere, alienare ab eius animo
 liberorum caritatem, quo liberius et artius desolatam mulie-
 rem solus possiderem? fuitne hoc praedonis, quod uos 5

15 larga *Stewech*: uncta *Coluius* 19 nouam ϕ (a in ras.)
 22 acceperis M^1 : acceperit *F ϕ* libuerit *Pricaeus* 33 utramuis
V⁵: utrumuis *F ϕ* : ut utramuis *Krüger* habens M^1L^1 : habes
F ϕ : habet V^1 et m. rec. in ϕ : habeat V^5 : habebat *Coluius*: habebit
Wower

93. 5 quod *F ϕ* : quod me *Salmasius*: quem *Sauppe* post *Hildebrand*

fingitis? ego uero quietis et concordiae et pietatis auctor,
 conciliator, fauisor non modo noua odia non serui, sed
 uetera quoque funditus exstirpauī. suasi uxori meae, cuius,
 ut isti aiunt, iam uniuersas opes transuoraram, suasi, inquam,
 10 ac denique persuasi, ut filiis pecuniam suam reposcentibus,
 de qua supra dixeram, ut eam pecuniam sine mora redderet
 in praedis uili aestimatis et quanto ipsi uolebant, praeterea
 ex re familiari sua fructuosissimos agros et grandem domum
 opulente ornatam magnamque uim tritici et ordeī et uini et
 15 oliui ceterorumque fructuum, seruos quoque haud minus
 cccc, pecora amplius neque pauca neque abiecti pretii
 donaret, ut eos et ex ea parte quam tribuisset securos
 haberet et ad cetera hereditatis bona spe inuitaret. haec
 ergo ab inuita Pudentilla—patietur enim me, uti res fuit, ita
 20 dicere—aegre extudi, ingentibus precibus inuitae et iratae
 extorsi, matrem filiis reconciliaui, priuignos meos primo hoc
 uitrici beneficio grandi pecunia auxi.

94 Cognitum hoc est tota ciuitate. Rufinum omnes ex-
 ecrati me laudibus tulere. uenerat ad nos, priusquam istam
 donationem perficeret, cum dissimili isto fratre suo Pontia-
 nus, pedes nostros aduolutus ueniam et obliuionem praeteri-
 5 torum omnium postularat, flens et manus nostras oscula-
 bundus ac dicens paenitere quod Rufino et similibus
 auscultaui. petit postea suppliciter, uti se Lolliano quoque
 Auito C. V. purgem, cui haud pridem tirocinio orationis
 suae fuerat a me commendatus: quippe compererat ante
 10 paucos dies omnia me, ut acta erant, ad eum perscripsisse.
 id quoque a me impetrat. itaque acceptis litteris Cartha-
 ginem pergit, ubi iam prope exacto consulatus sui munere

7 seui *Elmenhorst*

diis *L²I¹V⁵M¹*

13 re *cod. dett.*: se *Fφ*

ego *L³V¹V⁵M¹*

22 uitricus *Casaubonus*

94. a istam *Fφ*: ista *Hildebrand*: {illa} istam *con. Helm*: istam

mater *V⁵*

5 postulat *v*

professionis *Lipsius*

11 qua *Casaubonus M¹*: quo *Fφ*

uilia estimatis *Fφ*, sed recte distinxit *m. al. in φ*

18 spe *M¹T*: spei *Fφ*

22 uitricus *Casaubonus*

19 ergo *Fφ*:

8 orationis *Fφ*: profectionis *V⁵*:

10 perscripsisse *V⁵*: praescripsisse *Fφ*

Lollianus Auitus te, Maxime, opperiebatur. is epistulis
 meis lectis pro sua eximia humanitate gratulatus Pontiano,
 quod cito errorem suum correxisset, rescripsit mihi per eum 15
 quas litteras, di boni, qua doctrina, quo lepore, qua uerbo-
 rum amoenitate simul et iucunditate, prorsus ut 'uir bonus
 dicendi peritus'! scio te, Maxime, libenter eius litteras
 auditurum, et quidem, si praelegam, mea uoce pronuntiabo.
 cedo tu Auiti epistulas, ut quae semper ornamento mihi 20
 fuerunt sint nunc etiam saluti. at tu licebit aquam sinas
 fluere; namque optimi uiri litteras ter et quater aueo
 quantouis temporis dispendio lectitare.

Non sum nescius debuisse me post istas Auiti litteras 95
 perorare. quem enim laudatorem locupletiozem, quem
 testem uitae meae sanctiorem producam, quem denique
 aduocatum facundiorem? multos in uita mea Romani
 nominis disertos uiros sedulo cognoui, sed sum aequae 5
 neminem admiratus. nemo est hodie, quantum mea opinio
 fert, alicuius in eloquentia laudis et spei, quin Auitus esse longe
 malit, si cum eo se remota inuidia uelit conferre; quippe
 omnes fandi uirtutes paene diuersae in illo uiro congruunt.
 quamcumque orationem struxerit Auitus, ita illa erit undique 10
 sui perfecte absoluta, ut in illa neque Cato grauitatem
 requirat neque Laelius lenitatem nec Gracchus impetum
 nec Caesar calorem nec Hortensius distributionem nec
 Caluus argutias nec parsimoniam Salustius nec opulentiam
 Cicero: prorsus, inquam, ne omnis persequar, si Auitum 15

13 is *Vulcanius*: his *F*φ 19 et quidem] equidem *Van der*
Vliet praelegam] perlegam *L*¹: ipse legam *Rohde* 21 at
*V*⁵*M*¹: ut *F*φ 22 aueo *Gruter*: ab eo *F*φ 23 tempore *F*φ,
 corr. φ

95. 5 sed sum eque *M*¹*L*³: sed summeque *F*φ 7 et] aut
Priscaeus 8 malit *m. rec. in mg.* φ: malis *F*φ 10 orationem
 φ: oranē *F* (*supra a m. al. add. ti*) haec quae sequuntur praebent *V*¹ in
mg. m. prima, *V*³ in margine *Floridorum*, *N*³ inter fragmenta
Apologiae quae post tractatum de Mundo seruantur. nec auctoritatem
 Crassus nec efficaciam Antonius nec simplicitatem Menenius nec
 acrimoniam Appius nec leporem ac facetias Augustus

audias, neque additum quicquam uelis neque detractum
neque autem aliquid commutatum.

Video, Maxime, quam benigne audias, quae in amico tuo
Auito recognoscas. tua me comitas, ut uel pauca dicerem
20 de eo, inuitauit. at non usque adeo tuae beneuolentiae
indulgebo, ut mihi permittam iam propemodum fesso in
causa prorsus ad finem inclinata de egregiis uirtutibus eius
nunc demum incipere, quin potius eas integris uiribus et
96 tempori libero seruem. nunc enim mihi, quod aegre fero,
a commemoratione tanti uiri ad pestes istas oratio reuol-
uenda est.

Audesne te ergo, Aemiliane, cum Auito conferre? quemne
5 ille bonum uirum ait, cuius animi dispositionem tam plene
suis litteris collaudat, eum tu magiae (et) maleficii criminis
insectabere? an inuasisse me domum Pudentillae et concipi-
lare bona eius tu magis dolere debes quam doluisset Pontia-
nus, qui mihi ob paucorum dierum uestro scilicet instinctu
10 ortas simultates etiam absenti apud Auitum satisfecit, qui
mihi apud tantum uirum gratias egit? puta me acta apud
Auitum, non litteras ipsius legisse. quid posses uel † quas
quis† in isto negotio accusare? Pontianus ipse quod a
matre donatum acceperat meo muneri acceptum ferebat,
15 Pontianus me uitricum sibi contigisse intimis affectionibus
laetabatur. quod utinam incolumis Carthagine reuertisset!
uel, quoniam sic ei fuerat fato decretum, utinam tu, Rufine,
supremum eius iudicium non impedisses! quas mihi aut
coram aut denique in testamento gratias egisset! litteras
20 tamen, quas ad me Carthagine uel iam adueniens ex itinere

19 recognoscis *L³V¹M¹*

96. 5 dispositionem *Fulvius Ursinus* : disputationem *Fϕ* : dispunc-
tionem *Helm* 6 eum *M¹L³V¹* et *m. rec. in mg. ϕ* : cum *Fϕ* et
add. Bosscha maleficii *del. Scriuerius* criminis] criminibus
Bosscha 12 locus nondum sanatus quas quis *Fϕ* : (tu uel) quis-
quis *Van der Vliet* : quas (res) quis *con. Helm* : quasuis *Ellis* : quisquis
Colvius : quos quires *Stewech* uel quas quis *om. M¹* 20 Cartha-
gine *L³* : Carthaginem *Fϕ*

praemisit, quas adhuc ualidus, quas iam aeger, plenas honoris, plenas amoris, quaeso, Maxime, paulisper recitari sinas, ut sciat frater eius, accusator meus, quam in omnibus (minor) Mineruae curriculum cum fratre optumae memoriae uiro currat.

25

Audistine uocabula, quae mihi Pontianus frater tuus tribuerat me parentem suum, me dominum, me magistrum cum saepe alias, tum in extremo tempore uitae uocans, post quam tuas quoque paris epistulas promerem, si uel exiguam moram tanti putarem? potius testamentum illud recens tui fratris quamquam imperfectum tamen proferri cuperem, in quo mei officiosissime et honestissime meminit. quod tamen testamentum Rufinus neque comparari neque perfici passus est pudore perditae hereditatis, quam paucorum mensium, quibus socer Pontiani fuit, magno quidem pretio noctium computarat. praeterea nescio quos Chaldaeos consuluerat, quo lucro filiam collocaret, qui, ut audio, utinam illud non uere respondissent, primum eius maritum in paucis mensibus moriturum! cetera enim de hereditate, ut adsolent, ad consulentis uotum confinxerunt. uerum, ut dii uoluere, quasi caeca bestia in cassum hiauit. Pontianus enim filiam Rufini male compertam non modo heredem non reliquit, sed ne honesto quidem legato impertiuit, quippe qui ei ad ignominiam lintea adscribi ducentorum fere denariorum iusserit, ut intellegeretur iratus potius aestimasse eam quam oblitus praeterisse. scripsit autem heredes tam hoc testamento quam priore, quod lectum est, matrem cum

97

21 praemisit (*ex pro-*) *F*: promisit ϕ (*prae m. rec. in mg.*)
 23-24 in omnibus (minor) Mineruae *Butler*: in omnibus mineruae
F\phi: in omnibus minor uitae *Lenne\phi*: (inuita) in omnibus Minerua
Haupt: infaustis ominibus Mineruae *Steweck* 25 uiro currat *V*⁵:
 uir occurrat *F\phi*: uiro occurrat *M*¹

97. 3 tempore ϕ : tepore *F* 4 post quam *Ellis*: postquam
F\phi: post quae *Beyte*: possem *V*⁵: post postquam lacunam statuit *Helm*
 'in qua talia fere interciderint: mecum rediit in gratiam' promere
*V*⁵ 9 post quam, praemium addit *Helm* 17 mali *Casaubonus*

fratre, cui, ut uides, admodum puero eandem illam filiae
suae machinam Rufinus admouet ac mulierem aliquam
25 multo natu maiorem, nuperrime uxorem fratris, misero puero
obicit et obsternit.

98 At ille puellae meretricis blandimentis et lenonis patris
illectamentis captus et possessus, exinde ut frater eius
animam edidit, relictā matre ad patruum commigrauit, quo
facilius remotis nobis coepta perficerentur; fauet enim
5 Rufino Aemilianus et prouentum cupit.—ehem, recte uos
admonetis: etiam suam spem bonus patruus temperat
in isto ac fouet, qui sciat intestati pueri legitimum magis
quam iustum heredem futurum. nollem hercule hoc a me
profectum; non fuit meae moderationis tacitas omnium
10 suspiciones palam abrumpere; male uos, qui suggestistis.
plane quidem, si per uerum uelis, multi mirantur, Aemiliane,
tam repentinam circa puerum istum pietatem tuam, post-
quam frater eius Pontianus est mortuus, cum antea tam
ignotus illi fueris, ut saepe ne in occurso quidem filium
15 fratris tui de facie agnosceres. at nunc adeo patientem
te ei praebes itaque eum indulgentia corrumpis, adeo ei
nulla re aduersare, ut per haec suspiciōribus fidem facias.
inuestem a nobis accepisti: uesticipem ilico reddidisti;
cum a nobis regeretur, ad magistros itabat: ab iis nunc
20 magna fugela in ganeum fugit, amicos serios aspernatur,
cum adolescentulis postremissumis inter scorta et pocula
puer hoc aevi conuiuium agitāt. ipse domi tuae rector,
ipse familiae dominus, ipse magister conuiuio; in ludo
quoque gladiatorio frequens uisitur; nomina gladiatorum
25 et pugnas et uulnera plane quidem ut puer honestus ab ipso

23 cui ut *T*: cuius *Fφ* eandem *Casaubonus*: tandem *Fφ* 24
aliquam *φL³*: alique[m] *F*

98. 1 at *L³L¹* et *m. rec.* in *mg.* *φ*: ait *Fφ*: ac *M¹* 11 per uerum
Purser: peruerum *Hildebrand*: puerum *Fφ*: uerum *M¹* 17 ad-
uersaris *M¹L¹* et *m.* al. *suprascriptis* in *φ* 19 it abatabiis *Fφ*
23 conuiuiorum *M¹*: in conuiuio *v*: conuiuii *Krūger* 24 uisitur
T: uisitor *Fφ*: uisitor *Helm* 25 honeste *L¹A*

lanista docetur ; loquitur nunquam nisi Punice et si quid adhuc a matre graecissat ; enim Latine loqui neque uult neque potest. audisti, Maxime, paulo ante, pro nefas ! priuignum meum, fratrem Pontiani, diserti iuuenis, uix singulas syllabas fringultientem, cum ab eo quaereres, donas- 30 setne illis mater quae ego dicebam me adnitente donata.

Testor igitur te, Claudii Maxime, uosque, qui in con- 99 silio estis, uosque etiam, qui tribunal mecum adsistitis, haec damna et dedecora morum eius patruo huic et candidato illo socero adsignanda meque posthac boni consulturum, quod talis priuignus curae meae iugum ceruice 5 excusserit, neque postea pro eo matri eius supplicaturum. nam, quod paenissime oblitus sum, nuperrime cum testamentum Pudentilla post mortem Pontiani filii sui in mala ualetudine scriberet, diu sum aduersus illam renisus, ne hunc ob tot insignis contumelias, ob tot iniurias exhere- 10 daret ; elogium grauissimum iam totum medius fidius perscriptum ut aboleret, impensis precibus orauit ; postremo, ni impetrarem, diuersurum me ab ea comminatus sum : mihi hanc ueniam tribueret, malum filium beneficio uinceret, me inuidia omni liberaret. nec prius destiti quam 15 ita fecit. doleo me huncce scrupulum Aemiliano dempsisse, tam inopinatam rem ei indicasse. specta quaeso, Maxime, ut hisce auditis subito obstipuerit, ut oculos ad terram demiserit ; enim longe sequius ratus fuerat, nec immerito : mulierem filii contumeliis infectam, meis officiis 20 deuinctam sciebat. de me quoque fuit quod timeret : quiuis uel aeque ut ego spernens hereditatis tamen uindi-

27 latine enim ϕ : {at} enim latine Jahn

99. 8 pudentilla F (a mutatum est in ξ , quae littera rursus deleta est) : pudentille ϕ (m. rec. suprascripta la) 9 scriberet L^3V^1D : scriberet F : scribet ϕ (s supra b scripsit m. nescio an prima) : scripsit L^1V^2 : scripserit ATM^1V^5 12 orauit M^1L^3 : orauit (t punctis del. ϕ) $F\phi$ 16 huncce ϕ (fuit huncse) : huncse F 17 rem ei Bosscha : semet $F\phi$ (in mg. ϕ d.) : semitam V^5 : sententiam uir doctus in ed. Junt. post. : spem ei Hildebrand : spem T 19 ratus (ex ratis) ϕ : ratis F 20 infestam Casaubonus

cari de tam inofficioso priuigno non recusasset. haec praecipue sollicitudo eos ad accusationem mei stimulauit: 25 hereditatem omnem mihi relictam falso ex sua auaritia coniectauere. soluo uos in praeteritum isto metu. namque animum meum neque hereditatis neque ultionis occasio potuit loco demouere. pugnaui cum irata matre pro priuigno malo uitricus, ueluti pater pro optimo filio aduersus 30 nouercam, nec satis fuit, ni bonae uxoris prolixam liberalitatem circa me nimio plus aequo coererem.

100 Cedo tu testamentum iam inimico filio a matre factum me, quem isti praedonem dicunt, uerba singula cum precibus praeunte. rumpi tabulas istas iube, Maxime: inuenies filium heredem, mihi uero tenue nescio quid honoris 5 gratia legatum, ne, si quid ei humanitus attigisset, nomen maritus in uxoris tabulis non haberem. cape istud matris tuae testamentum, uere hoc quidem inofficiosum; quidni? in quo obsequentissimum maritum exheredauit, inimicissimum filium scripsit heredem, immo enim uero non filium, 10 sed Aemiliani spes et Rufini nuptias, set temulentum illud collegium, parasitos tuos. accipe, inquam, filiorum optime, et positis paulisper epistulis amatoriiis matris lege potius testamentum: si quid quasi insana scripsit, hic reperies et quidem mox a principio: 'Sicinius Pudens filius meus 15 mihi heres esto.' fateor, qui hoc legerit insanum putabit. hicine filius heres, qui te in ipso fratris sui funere aduocata perditissimorum iuuenum manu uoluit excludere e domo quam ipsa donaueras, qui te sibi a fratre coheredem relictam grauiter et acerbe tulit, qui confestim te cum tuo luctu et 20 maerore deseruit et ad Rufinum et Aemilianum de sinu tuo aufugit, qui tibi plurimas postea contumelias dixit coram et adiuuante patruo fecit, qui nomen tuum pro tribunalibus

100. 3 praeunte *v*: praeuntem *F*φ 5 eam *Elmenhorst*
 6 istud *M*¹: ista ut *F*φ, fuit in archetypo istud quod legit *Helm*
 7 quidni *m. al. in φ*: quini *F*φ 15 hoc *F*φ (c addidit *m. al. in*
F) 18 relictam *M*¹: relictum *F*φ 21 tibi *M*¹: ibi *F*φ

uentilauit, qui pudorem tuum tuismet litteris conatus est publice dedecorare, qui maritum tuum, quem elegeras, quem, ut ipse obiebat, efflictim amabas, capitis accusauit? aperi 25 quaeso, bone puer, aperi testamentum: facilius insaniam matris sic probabis.

Quid abnuis, quid recusas, postquam sollicitudinem de hereditate materna reppulisti? at ego hasce tabulas, Maxime, 101 hic ibidem pro pedibus tuis abicio testorque me deinceps incuriosius habiturum, quid Pudentilla testamento suo scribat. ipse iam, ut libet, matrem suam de cetero exoret: mihi, ut ultra pro eo deprecet, locum non reliquit. ipse iam, 5 ut (qui) sui potens ac uir acerbissimas litteras matri dictet, iram eius deleniat; qui potuit perorare, poterit exorare. mihi iam dudum satis est, si non modo crimina obiecta plenissime dilui, uerum etiam radicem iudicii huius, id est hereditatis quaesitae inuidiam, funditus sustuli. 10

Illud etiam, ne quid omnium praeteream, priusquam peroro, falso obiectum reuincam. dixistis me magna pecunia mulieris pulcherrimum praedium meo nomine emisse. dico exiguum herediolum LX milibus nummum, id quoque non me, sed Pudentillam suo nomine emisse, Pudentillae nomen 15 in tabulis esse, Pudentillae nomine pro eo agello tributum dependi. praesens est quaestor publicus, cui depensum est, Coruinius Celer, uir ornatus; adest etiam tutor auctor mulieris, uir grauissimus et sanctissimus, omni cum honore mihi nominandus, Cassius Longinus. quaere, Maxime, 20 cuius emptionis auctor fuerit, quantulo pretio mulier locuples agellum suum praestinarit.

[testimonium Cassi Longini tutoris et Coruini Clementis qR]

24 maritum ϕ : maritū *F* (lineam addidit *m. al.*)

101. 2 abicio ϕ (fuit adicio, sed correxit *m. nescio an prima*): adicio *F* 6 qui *add. Helm* uir *F* ϕ : qui *Casaubonus* 11 praeteream *M*¹: praetereum *F* ϕ 12 magna *L*¹*M*¹*TV*²: magia *F* ϕ 18 Coruinus *DL*³*TM*¹*V*⁵ tutor *F* (u *paene erasum est, et m. prima tu addidit in mg., unde tu tutor* ϕ) 23-24 testimonium... *qR* *deleuit Acidalius, pro qR V*⁵ *habet quod recitatum est, M*¹ *quid responderit*

25 Estne ita ut dixi? uspiam in hac emptione nomen meum
adscriptum est? num ipsum heredioli pretium inuidiosum
est, num uel hoc saltem in me collatum?

102 Quid etiam est, Aemiliane, quod non te iudice refu-
tauerim? quod pretium magiae meae repperisti? cur ergo
Pudentillae animum ueneficiis flecterem? quod ut ex ea
commodum caperem? uti dotem mihi modicam potius
5 quam amplam dicēret? o praeclara carmina. an ut eam
dotem filiis suis magis restipularetur quam penes me sineret?
quid addi ad hanc magian potest? an uti rem familiarem
suam meo adhortatu pleramque filiis condonasset, quae
nihil illis ante me maritum fuerat largita, mihi (nihil) quic-
10 quam impertiret? o graue ueneficium dicam an ingratum
beneficium? an ut testamento, quod irata filio scribebat,
filium potius, cui offensa erat, quam me, cui deuincta,
heredem relinqueret? hoc quidem multis cantaminibus
difficile impetraui. putate uos causam non apud Claudium
15 Maximum agere, uirum aequum et iustitiae pertinacem, sed
aliu aliquem prauum et saeuum iudicem substitute, accu-
sationum fautorem, cupidum condemnandi: date ei quod
sequatur, ministrare uel tantulam ueri similem occasionem
secundum uos pronuntiandi; saltem fingite aliquid, emini-
20 scimini quod respondeatis, qui uos ita rogarit. et quoniam
omnem conatum necesse est quaequam causa praecedat,
respondete qui Apuleium dicitis animum Pudentillae magicis
illectamentis adortum, quid ex ea petierit, cur fecerit.
formam eius uoluerat? negātis. diuitias saltem concupierat?
25 negant tabulae dotis, negant tabulae donationis, negant
tabulae testamenti, in quibus non modo non cupide appe-
tisse, uerum etiam dure reppulisse liberalitatem suae uxoris
ostenditur. quae igitur alia causa est? quid obmutuistis?

102. 2 ergo *Fφ*: ego *TM¹V¹V⁵*

donasset *Bosscha*: condonaret *Pricaens*

Pricaens: mihi quicquam *Fφ*: (nec) mihi quicquam *Floridus* 12 me
cui *M¹V⁵*: mecum *Fφ*

8 condonasset *Fφ*: cum

9 mihi (nihil) quicquam

quid tacetis? ubi illud libelli uestri atrox principium nomine
 priuigni mei formatum: 'hunc ego, domine Maxime, reum 30
 apud te facere institui'? quin igitur addis: 'reum magi- 103
 strum, reum uitricum, reum deprecatores'? sed quid
 deinde? 'plurimorum maleficiorum et manifestissimorum'.
 cedo unum de plurimis, cedo dubium uel saltem obscurum
 de manifestissimis. ceterum ad haec, quae obiecistis, 5
 numera an binis uerbis respondeam. 'dentes splendidas':
 ignosce munditiis. 'specula inspicias': debet philosophus.
 'uorsus facis': licet fieri. 'pisces exploras': Aristoteles
 docet. 'lignum consecras': Plato suadet. 'uxorem ducis':
 leges iubent. 'prior natu'st': solet fieri. 'lucrum sectatus 10
 es': dotalis accipe, donationem recordare, testamentum
 lege. quae si omnia affatim retudi, si calumnias omnes
 refutauit, si me in omnibus non modo criminibus, uerum
 etiam maledictis procul a culpa [philosophiae] tutus sum,
 si philosophiae honorem, qui mihi salute mea antiquior est, 15
 nusquam minui, immo contra ubique si cum septem pennis
 eum tenui: si haec, ut dico, ita sunt, possum securus
 existimationem tuam reuereri quam potestatem uereri, quod
 minus graue et uerendum mihi arbitror a proconsule dam-
 nari quam si a tam bono tamque emendato uiro improber. 20

Dixi.

30 formatum ϕ : formormatum F

103. 6 splendidas *Lipsius*: splendidos F ϕ : splendicas *Van der Vliet*
 10 natu' st *scripsimus*: natu is est F ϕ : natu haec est M¹:
 natu ista est *Hildebrand* 14 philosophiae *delet Bosscha*: philo-
 sophiam *omisso me (v. 13) Casaubonus*: magiae *Acidalius* 17 se-
 curius M¹V⁵ 19 a proconsule *m. rec. in* ϕ : ac proconsul F ϕ
 20 improber ϕ : improbe* F (*quid fuerit in ras. non legi potest*) APVLEI
 PLATONICI MADAVRENSIS PROSAE. DE MAGIA LIB. II. Exp^l. Ego salustius.
 emdaui rome felix. F ϕ

COMMENTARY

CHAPTER I

1. *equidem* is used in the *Apologia* fourteen times and always with the first person: in the *Florida* four times, always with the first person. In the *Metamorphoses*, out of the ten times that it appears, seven are not with the first person, and in one of the remaining three (xi. 24) it does not appear to be connected with the verb. Becker (*Stud. Apul.*, pp. 48 sqq.) points out this difference, and holds that, whereas in popular speech no distinction was drawn between *quidem* and *equidem* in the second century A.D., in oratorical Latin *equidem* was treated as the equivalent of *ego quidem*, as it was in the Ciceronian age.

Maxime Claudii. Claudius Maximus succeeded Lollianus Avitus as governor of Africa, cp. c. 94 *Lollianus Avitus te, Maxime, opperiebatur*; i.e. he was probably proconsul somewhere between the years A.D. 155-8. See note on *Lollianus*, c. 24. Nothing further is known of Claudius Maximus save that he was, perhaps, legatus in Pannonia Superior in November, 154 (C. I. L. iii. *Dipl.* 39). This suggests that he was not proconsul of Africa before A.D. 156. (There is no reason to identify him with Claudius Maximus the Stoic, the friend and guide of Marcus Aurelius (cp. *Med.* i. 15), though such an identification would lend point to Apuleius' allusions to his learning: see c. 11 *ceterum Maximum etc.*; c. 19 *uirum tam austerae sectae*; c. 25 *quae tu mecum, Maxime, recognosce*; c. 38 *ad init.*; c. 41 *quod ego et Maximus in Aristotele miramur*; c. 51 *ad init.*; c. 91 *tua doctrina*. Cod. IV. G. 55 in the National Library at Naples styles him *Claudius Maximus Macrinus*. (A certain M. Claudius Macrinus was later proconsul of Africa, *Prosop. Rom.* 737.)

2. *quique in consilio estis*. The phrase occurs in Cicero (*pro Quint.* 10) and was probably stereotyped as our 'gentlemen of the jury'. The provincial governor when holding his assize would probably be assisted under normal circumstances by a *consilium* of assessors drawn partly from his staff, partly from the local *conuentus ciuium Romanorum* (cp. *Cic. in Verr.* ii. 2. 30. 74, 75 and i. 29. 73; 2. 29. 70).

senem notissimae temeritatis. Cp. *Tac. Ann.* iii. 57 *senex foedissimae adulationis*.

3. *accusationem mei*. So also in cc. 4 and 99. See note on c. 25 *ad inuidiam mei*.

6. **quo ego uno praecipue confisus.** Apuleius affects the 'vulgar' use of the nominative of the personal pronoun where there is no emphasis, a use especially frequent in letters and the comic poets. Leky (p. 9) quotes from this speech: c. 1 *quae ego cum intellegerem*; c. 4 *haec ego de forma respondissem*; c. 2 *quod tu cum animaduvertisses*; c. 52 *at tu fortasse te putas*; c. 53 *ne tu arbitreris*.

7. **gratulor.** When used reflexively the word is usually accompanied by the dative (as in c. 27). But sometimes, as here, the case is omitted; cp. Suet. Tib. 60 *gratulanti autem inter poenam quod non et lucustam obtulisset*; Apul. Met. iii. 10 *hi gaudii nimietate gratulari*; Apol. 41 *quod ego gratulor nescire istos*.

10. **ad difficultatem defensionis.** See Gramm. Index *ad*. 'The charges have been brought suddenly against me so that they have made the work of defence very difficult.' The uses of the preposition *ad* become very widely extended in post-classical Latin.

11. **dies quintus an sextus.** The first accusation was made four or five days before the actual trial. The next day Aemilianus brought the indictment in the name of Pudens (2 *postera die*), while two days before the trial copies were taken of evidence (78), witnesses were cited (44), and in one case bought (60).

an simply raises a doubt between two alternatives. It is thus used in Cicero's letters, but not in the speeches. Cp. Cic. ad Fam. xiii. 29. 4 *non plus duobus an tribus mensibus*. In Tacitus the use is very frequent. It is used particularly where there is a doubt as to the exact number (cp. Ellis, Comm. on Catullus, xxxvii. 7). Cp. Apol. 43 *ter an quater die*.

12. **pro uxore.** Apuleius would appear for his wife as her *cognitor* or *procurator*. See Gai. Inst. iv. 10.

13. **Granius.** We know of Granii as relatives of Lollius Urbicus; cp. note on Urbicus, c. 2. The case in question was presumably a civil suit involving some question of property. A further problem arises. Was Sicinius Aemilianus involved? The text suggests, though it does not necessarily imply, that the *patroni* of Aemilianus were opposing Apuleius in this suit. On this assumption are the *patroni* to be identified with the Granii, or were the Granii the main parties to the suit, while the *patroni* held a watching brief for Aemilianus, whose interests were to some degree involved (see Purser, Cupid and Psyche, xxviii, n. 1)? No definite answer is possible, and it must be remembered that Aemilianus may have had no interest in the case whatever. It is perhaps simpler to suppose that the *patroni* of Sicinius Pudens (see below) accused Apuleius of magic while he was occupied with another suit and wholly unprepared to meet their attack. They knew that he was going to the assize at Sabrata and seized the occasion.

agere aggressum. *agere* is not now legible in *F*, but was probably written above *aggressum*; see App. Crit. The fact that

COMMENTARY: CHAPTER I

φ has *agere* strongly supports this view. *aggredior* is used constantly with the infinitive by Apuleius, but rarely by Cicero, de Off. ii. 1. 1 *de quibus dicere aggrediar*; Or. 133.

de composito. The commoner use is *ex composito*, found in Livy, Tacitus, and Suetonius (cp. infra note on c. 2 *de professo*). More rarely *composito* is used without a preposition, as in Verg. Aen. ii. 129 *composito rumpit uocem*. This is the only use quoted by the Thesaurus for the present phrase. For similar adverbial phrases formed from adjectives and participles with *de* cp. Apol. 2 *de professo*; 3, 101 *de cetero*; 88 *de proximo* (also Met. ii. 4, iv. 21, xi. 6 and 23); Flor. 16; D. Socr. prol. 3 *de repentino*.

14. **patronieius.** Probably the *patroni* in the present case (see notes below on *Sicini Pudentis admodum pueri* and *adscribit se assistere*, c. 2). Possibly, however (see note on *Granius*), the *patroni* appeared for Aemilianus in the civil suit which Apuleius was pleading on behalf of his wife against the Granii.

15. **maleficiorum.** Used as a synonym for magic; cp. Met. ix. 29 *deuotionibus ac maleficiis*. Abt quotes a number of passages (pp. 90, 91) for the use of *maleficus* in the sense of magical; cp. Tac. Ann. ii. 69 *semiusti cineres ac tabo obliti aliaque malefica*. The idea of *doing* something is natural in a word for magic. Cp. Hubert et Mauss, *Théorie générale de la magie*, p. 14 'Dans l'Inde le mot qui correspond le mieux au mot *rite* est celui de *Karman* (acte); l'envoûtement est même le *factum*, *Kṛtya* par excellence; le mot allemand de *Zauber* a le même sens étymologique; d'autres langues encore emploient pour désigner la magie des mots dont la racine signifie *faire*.' The words *maleficus* and *malefica* became more and more confined to magic, and by the time of Diocletian were technical and legal equivalents for *magus*, *magia*, etc. Cp. Mommsen, *Strafr.*, p. 640. The words are continually used by Apuleius and his accusers in this sense. Cp. cc. 102-3, where the actual words of the indictment are quoted; also note on c. 102 *o graue ueneficium*, etc. (see Vallette, pp. 36, n. 2, and 38). This phrase reappears in cc. 9, 42, 61, 69. For the genitive see note on c. 2 *insimulationis falsae*.

Apuleius was presumably tried under the *lex Cornelia de sicariis*. Cp. Inst. Justin. iv. 18, de publ. iudiciis, § 5 *item* (sc. *publicum iudicium est*) *lex Cornelia de sicariis, quae homicidas ultore ferro persequitur uel eos qui hominis occidendi causa cum telo ambulant; eadem lege et uenefici capite damnantur, qui artibus odiosis tam uenenis uel susurris magicis homines occiderunt uel mala medicamenta publice uendiderunt*. It is, however, noticeable that the law as here quoted deals only explicitly with murder produced by magic. Now, though originally Apuleius' accusers had charged him with the murder of his step-son Pontianus (see cc. 1 and 2), this charge had been dropped. But as Apuleius speaks of himself as *ueneficii reum* (c. 41), and as Paulus and Modestinus both state

that *mala sacrificia* (such as Apuleius was accused of performing in the house of Crassus) came under the *lex Cornelia*, there can be little doubt that the *lex* included all magic practised for evil ends. Cp. Modestin, Dig. xlviii. 8. 13; Paulus, Sent. ad Fil. v. 23, ad leg. Corn. 15: *qui sacra impia nocturnaue, ut quem obcantarent defigerent obligarent, fecerint faciendauae curauerint, aut cruci suffiguntur aut bestiis obiciuntur*. For further evidence that the penalty was death cp. Apol. 26; Tac. Ann. ii. 32 and xii. 59. It is not necessary to suppose that there had been special judicial legislation against magic in the reign of Tiberius other than the expulsion of *magi* and *mathematici* from Italy by *senatus consulta* (Tac. Ann. ii. 32), still less in the time of Augustus (see Cumont, Relig. orientales, pp. 231, 321). The XII Tables had forbidden magic, and there was probably no period subsequently at which magic was not adequately dealt with by the law, though it may have been necessary at times to enforce and supplement the law by special enactments. See Abt, pp. 83 sqq.; Mommsen, Strafr., pp. 639 sqq.

Pontiani. For the circumstances of Pontianus' death see cc. 94-7. For his age see Introd., p. xx.

17. obiectamenta. The word is not found elsewhere. Other words ending in *-mentum* in this speech and found only in Apuleius are *concrementum* and *dissimulamentum*; he also uses words such as *adgnomentum*, *excrementum*, *illectamentum*, and *terriculamentum*, which are post-Augustan and rare. See Rönsch, p. 25.

crebris flagitationibus prouocauit. For Apuleius' tendency to use an ablative case to reinforce a verb of similar meaning cp. c. 3 *mercennaria loquacitate effutierunt*; c. 10 *igni deussit*; c. 42 *praesagio praedixisse*; c. 79 *animo putauit*; c. 98 *magna fugela in ganeum fugit*. See Koziol, pp. 115 sqq.

20. ocepit. The word is common in Plautus and Terence, but not found in Cicero and Caesar. It is, however, used by Livy and Tacitus.

latibulum temeritati. Apuleius affects this use of the dative in close connexion with another noun, where Cicero would have preferred the genitive. It is frequent in Livy, and still more in Tacitus: e.g. Ann. i. 24. 3 *rector iuueni*; ii. 46. 6 *paci firmator*. Cp. c. 6 *aliquid tersui dentibus*; c. 98 *magister conuiuio*.

CHAPTER 2

2. ad subscribendum. After making a formal charge against his adversary (*nominis delatio*), and after a preliminary inquiry (*interrogatio*), the president of the court, if satisfied that the case deserved further investigation, drew up an *inscriptio* with the statement of the charge. This was signed by the prosecutor (*subscribere*), and was consequently often known as *subscriptio*. Paulus (in Dig.

xlviii. 2. 3) preserves a document of this kind. *Consul et dies. Apud illum praetorem uel proconsulem Lucius Titius professus est se Maeniam lege Iulia de adulteriis ream deferre, etc.* (see Greenidge, Legal Procedure in time of Cicero, p. 465). In the present case Sicinius Aemilianus had accused (*professus est*) Apuleius of the unlawful use of magic and of the murder of Pontianus; when, however, he was called upon to set his name to the *inscriptio*, he drew back and, omitting the charge of murder, brought forward a new indictment on the following day, not in his own name, but on behalf of his nephew Pudens. Cp. note on *professor* below.

3. *oblitus est. obliuiscor* here governs the accusative case of a person as commonly of a thing. L. and S. give no example of such a use save from the Vulgate. But cp. Attius (Ribbeck 488).

tacere. The MSS. are corrupt. Both *F* and ϕ give *de morte cognati adolescentis subito tacerem tanti criminis descriptione tamen omnino desistere uideretur calumnia magiae, etc.*, save that ϕ adds *ne* over *omnino*. This gives no construction for *tacerem* or (in *F*) for *uideretur*. Helm's correction as given in the text is the only really satisfactory correction. *tacere* (cod. Laur. liv. 12) will be an historical infinitive, while *ne* is better placed after *descriptione*, following the two final letters of which it might easily have dropped out. Tr.: 'He suddenly dropped the charge of murder. But to avoid the appearance of completely abandoning so serious an indictment, he selected the false charge of magic, and that alone as the basis of his accusation.' This involves but the slightest change. The only objections that can be brought against it are: (1) that *tanti criminis* more naturally refers to the charge of murder than to the general indictment, and (2) that the resumptive *eam* is awkward coming so soon after *calumniam magiae* to which it refers. But there is no absolute impossibility in referring *tanti criminis* to the general indictment, while the resumptive and tautological use of the pronoun is common in Apuleius. Cp. c. 4 *Pythagoram . . . eum*; *ibid. Zenonem . . . eum quoque*; c. 8 *ea quoque*; c. 9 *isti*; c. 17 *ei*; c. 44 *is*; c. 50 *eam*; c. 53 *is*; c. 58 *hunc*; c. 89 *de ea*; c. 93 *eam*. The idiom is common also in Plautus, e.g. Asin. 527 *illos qui dant eos derides*; Men. 678 *pallam illam . . . quam tibi dudum dedi, mihi eam redde*. The objection to Helm's interpretation of *tanti criminis* might be met by reading *tacens* (cod. Urbin. and cod. Dorvillianus) and adding *destitit* after *descriptione*. *tanti criminis* would then mean the charge of murder. But this involves more change, and on the whole Helm's correction is preferable. (For an earlier correction by Helm see Philol. Suppl. ix. 4. 552.) *calumnia* (*F\phi*) must be changed to *calumniam* (*v*).

4. *descriptione* seems to be uniquely used = *subscriptione*. The literal sense will be 'the formal writing out of the *libellus*' (see below).

5. *magiae*. The first known use of the word in Latin, though *magicus* is classical.

7. *de professo*. Post-classical. Seneca and Macrobius have *ex professo*. In both these idioms the deponent participle is used with passive significance.

postera die. *dies* is more frequently feminine in post-classical than in classical Latin. In classical authors it is feminine, especially when it means 'an appointed day', and, almost exclusively, when it means 'time'. Cp. Caes. B. G. i. 6 *diem dicunt qua die ad ripam Rhodani omnes convenient. Is dies erat a. d. V. Kal. Apr.* The feminine gender of *dies* has been ascribed to the analogy of *nox* (Lindsay, p. 369 n.). In Apuleius it is nearly always feminine when in the ablative case, giving a date, as *hesterna die, quadam die, eadem die, etc.* For the date to which Apuleius refers cp. c. 1 *quintus an sextus dies*.

dat libellum: sc. the *subscriptio*. For an example see note above on *ad subscribendum*. Cp. also c. 102 (ad fin.) and 103, where the *libellus* is quoted.

8. *nomine*. *Sicini Pudentis admodum pueri*. Pudens had assumed the *toga uirilis* on the occasion of Pontianus' wedding and shortly before the wedding of Apuleius and Pudentilla (88). The *toga uirilis* was assumed at the age of puberty. Pudens may therefore have been sixteen or seventeen at the time of the trial. Although in theory he was a man, and could appear in person as Apuleius' accuser, he was manifestly too young to conduct the actual case and was therefore allowed *patroni* (see below on *adscribit se assistere*). The practice of appointing a *curator* to act for persons under twenty-five was instituted by the *lex Plaetoria*, circ. A.U.C. 563 (see Girard, Man. de droit rom., p. 227, ed. 4), but until the time of M. Aurelius the *curator* was appointed *ad hoc* (Vit. Marc. 10). There is no evidence who the *curator* was in this case (see below, note on *assistere*). The motive of Aemilianus in not bringing the charge in his own name was to avoid indictment for false accusation (*calumniā*), for which the punishment was *infamia* (cp. Mommsen, Strafr., p. 494). Pudens ran no risk. He was too young (cp. Mommsen, l. c., and Apol. c. 85 *nondum poenae, iam iniuriæ sufficit*). Later, those who brought an accusation *alieno nomine* were liable to the same punishment (Cod. Theod. ix. 39. 8), but even this provision cannot have affected those whose youth justified the plea that they had acted without discernment.

9. *adscribit se ei assistere*. The legal situation is not clear. From Aemilianus' relations with Pudens we should expect him to appear as his nephew's *curator* and *patronus*. But we hear frequently in this speech of *patroni* (e. g. cc. 4, 17, 24, 33, 38, 46), one of them, Tannonius Pudens, being actually mentioned by name. It is curious that several *patroni* should have been allowed to the accuser, but it is possible that *patronus* is used loosely in the sense

of *subscriptor*, i. e. a supplementary accuser. There seems no evidence for the accuser being allowed more than one actual *patronus*.

10. *ut . . . insimulationis falsae non plecteretur*. See note above on *Sicini Pudentis admodum pueri*. *plector* is found with the genitive of crime only in Apuleius. Other words which take a 'judicial' genitive in this speech are *insimulo*, c. 1; *postulo*, cc. 2, 79, 90; *condemno*, c. 37; *convinco*, c. 44; *accuso*, cc. 37, 47, 83, 100; *increpo*, c. 77; *defero*, c. 9; *arcesso*, c. 32; *revinco*, c. 62.

ut . . . non. In a final sentence the regular construction would be *ne* or *ut ne . . . plecteretur*. The only explanation of the present passage is that *non*, separated as it is by a considerable distance from *ut*, is to be regarded as going so closely with *plecteretur* as practically to form a negative verb.

12. *denuo* (= *de nouo*). The word is common in the comic poets, Apuleius, and Tertullian, but rare elsewhere.

13. *pollicitus ita facturum*. For the dependent statement with subject omitted cp. c. 13 *habere concedam*; c. 46 *ait producturum*; c. 48 *quam ego pollicitus sim curaturum*; c. 53 *quae fatearis nescire*; c. 55 *repperisse arbitrati sunt*; c. 75 *negat posse dissolvere*; Met. v. 13 *facturum spopondit* (where however Helm inserts *se*); ix. 41 *uidisse contendit*; D. Socr. 20 *dicat audisse* (see Leky, p. 33). These are all instances of the omission of the subject when it is the same as that of the principal verb. But in Met. v. 29 we have *uelim ergo scias multo te meliorem filium alium genituram* (where *me* has to be supplied), and in Apol. 48 *negauit Themison medicus . . . quicquam ultra passam* (sc. *eam*); c. 75 *ut crederes metuere* (sc. *eum*). This omission with verbs of promising can be paralleled from other authors. Cp. Ter. Andr. 401 *nam pollicitus sum suscepturum*; M. Aur. ad Front. v. 11 *quod uenturum promittis*.

14. *quitus est percelli*. The perfect passive is used by Apuleius with the passive infinitive, as *coeptus sum* and *desitus sum* are used in classical authors. But the idiom is not confined by him to the perfect tense. Cp. 92 *sola uirginitas cum semel accepta est, reddi nequitur*; Plaut. Pers. 194 *nec subigi queantur*; Lucr. i. 1045 *queatur*; iii. 1010 *potestur*. See Munro, ad loc.; he quotes *quitur*, *quitast*, *nequitur*, *nequitum*, *poteratur*, *possitur* as used by early authors. To these may be added *quitus sum* (Accius), *possetur* (Quadrigarius); see Dräger, Hist. Synt. i, p. 163. Apuleius does not, however, abstain from the use of the active of *queo* with the present infinitive passive. Cp. Met. i. 10 *ut non . . . quiuerint perforari*.

iam et aduersum te contumaciter eminus calumniis uelitatur. 'He defies your authority and continues to skirmish at long range with his false accusations.' *aduersum te* is not governed by *eminus calumniis uelitatur*. This would destroy the antithesis between *cominus ageret* and *eminus uelitatur*. It is against Apuleius that Aemilianus is said *eminus uelitari*. *aduersum*

te contumaciter is adverbial. Aemilianus' conduct towards Apuleius implies disrespect to the proconsul who had bidden him come to close quarters. Cp. Vallette, p. 113, n. 1. For the use of *uelitari* by Apuleius cp. Met. v. 11 *uelitatur fortuna eminus ac, nisi longe firmiter praecaues, mox cominus congredietur*. The word is ante- and post-classical, common in Apuleius, and found also in Plautus (e.g. Men. 778; cp. also Asin. 307 *uerbiuelitatio*).

16. in *assistendi uenia*. There seems no exact parallel for this phrase, though it is easily intelligible. Tr. 'in the safe course of appearing as a subsidiary accuser'.

17. *priusquam . . . ageretur*. Apuleius uses the subjunctive far more frequently than the indicative with *priusquam* and *antequam*, though in a large proportion of the instances of its use the indicative would have appeared in classical Latin. With these two words in this speech there are thirteen examples of the subjunctive, and only three of the indicative, sc. c. 22 *priusquam adscitus est*; c. 99 *nec prius destiti quam ita fecit*; c. 101 *priusquam peroro*, with which last contrast c. 3 *priusquam ad rem adgrediar*. The same peculiarity is noticeable to a less degree in Livy.

18. *qualisnam*. ἀπ. λεγ. on the analogy of *quisnam*.

qui fuerat professor et machinator idem fieri auctor time-ret. Aemilianus was the prime mover in the whole accusation, and had openly accused (cp. *clamitaret* above) Apuleius of murdering his eldest stepson. The words used above (*ad subscribendum compellitur*) suggest that he had gone as far as the *nominis delatio*, but backed out when it came to the *scriptio*. See note above on *subscribendum*. For the technical use of *profiteri* cp. the passage there quoted from Paulus in Dig. Aemilianus is rightly spoken of as *professor et machinator*, but would not back his *professio* with his formal signature (*scriptio*). There is no need with Pricaeus to transpose *auctor* and *professor*, though the change gives quite good sense, i.e. he who had been the prime mover in the accusation feared to give open support to his charge.

21. *tot tantorumque criminum postulasset*. Cp. note above on *insimulationis falsae plecteretur*. For the genitive after *postulo* cp. Tac. Ann. i. 74 *maiestatis postulauit*; Caesar, B.C. iii. 83. 2. In classical Latin the usual construction is with *de* and the ablative.

23. *pro falso infamarit*. Cp. 52 *falsum pro uero insimulas, infectum pro facto criminarius*; 90 *pro factis habenda*; 91 *pro confessione criminis haberi*.

24. *Lollius Vrbicus* was an African by birth, as inscriptions found at Tiddis in Numidia show (C. I. L. viii. 6705, 6706). He had a distinguished career. In A.D. 136-7 he was *legatus* of Lower Germany, while later (*circ.* A.D. 143) he was *legatus* of Britain. Subsequently he became *praefectus urbi* (cp. c. 3 *ad init.* and C. I. L. vi. 28; viii. 6705), i.e. some time between A.D. 153-8. He was present at Sabrata during this trial, as is proved by the opening

sentence of c. 3. It is conceivable that he may have been there in connexion with the suit of Pudentilla against the Granii (cp. c. 1), for C. I. L. viii. 6705 shows that his mother came of the family of the Granii (cp. Forschungen zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des römischen Kaiserreichs, W. Liebenam, p. 53).

V. C. = *uir clarissimus*. This appellation had no special significance at this date and is purely complimentary.

uerum uideri et ratum esse debere de consilio consularium uirorum. Lollius Urbicus was *praefectus urbi* (see note above), and the case was therefore clearly tried at Rome. The jurisdiction of the *praef. urb.* was very indefinite, and tended continually to increase. It cut across the jurisdiction of the *quaestiones perpetuae* as early as A.D. 61 (cp. Tac. Ann. xiv. 41) and became practically unlimited in the third century (cp. Dio Cass. lii. 21; Ulp. in Dig. i. 12. 1). The case in which Aemilianus was involved was criminal and not civil, since the civil jurisdiction of the *praefectus* was limited to certain specific cases. Presumably Aemilianus accused some one of having forged the will. Apart from this passage we have the evidence of the Digest (xlvi. 10. 24) that such cases were dealt with by the *praefectus urbi*. The *praefectus* was assisted not by a jury, but by a *consilium*, which, if the reading in this passage be correct, was drawn from the ranks of the *consulares*. See Mommsen, Strafr. 272-4. The sole objection to *consularium* is that there is no further evidence for the composition of the *consilium*. Of the corrections suggested *consiliarium* (= *consiliariorum*) (Lipsius) is harmless, but redundant; further Apuleius would probably have omitted *uirorum*, since *consiliarius* is regularly used as a noun. *clarissimorum* (Salmasius) has no special probability. *consultorum* (Hirschfeld) is the least unlikely (Hermes xxiv. 105), but is based on the groundless assumption that Lollius Urbicus tried the case as *proconsul Africae* (cp. *apud praefectum urbi*, c. 3).

25. de consilio here means the opinion of the *consilium*, not the *consilium* itself.

26. contra clarissimam uocem. The *uox clarissima* is the verdict of Lollius Urbicus. Various inferior MSS. read *clarissima uoce*, and this reading was adopted by Casaubon. But the ablative deprives *quam quidem uocem* (c. 3) of its natural meaning and point.

27. tamen is best taken with what follows, i.e. 'that in spite of Lollius Urbicus, etc.' See Helm, Philol., l. c., p. 554.

28. ab eius perniciē temperarit. Lollius Urbicus took such a serious view of Aemilianus' conduct that he was very near punishing him as a *calumniator*. The penalty for *calumnia* being *infamia*, *perniciēs* is scarcely too strong a word. The jurisdiction of the *praefectus urbi* was summary (see Mommsen, Strafr. 274). It is possible that Aemilianus' offence may have been contempt of court (see Ulp. in Dig. ii. 3. 1; Mommsen, Strafr. 885).

CHAPTER 3

1. **quam quidem uocem.** Apuleius anticipates that the lies of Aemilianus will excite such disgust in the mind of Lollius Urbicus, now present in court, that he will be unable to keep silence, and will declare his previous experience of Aemilianus' character.

3. **erupturam.** Helm compares Cic. in Vatin. 6. 15; Phil. x. 9. 19 *erumpat enim aliquando uera et me digna uox.*

quippe qui. *quippe* with the relative is used by the comic poets both with the indicative and with the subjunctive. So too in Livy it appears with both. Sallust uses it exclusively with the indicative, Cicero with the subjunctive. It is not found in Caesar. Apuleius has it with the indicative here and in cc. 5 and 29, with the subjunctive in c. 17 (twice) and c. 97. He also revives a use of the comic poets (e.g. Plaut. Aul. 348 *quippe qui ubi subripias nihil est*), where *qui* is adverbial as in *atqui* (the old locative or instrumental case of the relative). Cp. 20 *quippe qui inopia desiderio, opulentia fastidio cernuntur*; 26 *quippe qui inter prima regalia docetur*; 53 *quippe qui sollertissimi . . . ne iis quidem confidendum esse aiunt quae uidemus.*

6. **sollicitius.** The comparative is post-Augustan; it is found in Pliny, while Seneca has *sollicitior*. Cicero has *magis sollicitus* (pro Mil. 2. 5).

9. **obsoletior.** *F* read *obsoletior*, but in Flor. 19 we have *obsoletissimo uestitu*, so that there is no justification in reading *obsoletior*, a form for which there is no parallel.

11. **priusquam ad rem aggrediar.** See note on c. 2 *priusquam ageretur*.

13. **cuius.** Cp. Met. v. 15. This possessive adjective is common in Plautus and Terence, but by the time of Vergil was sufficiently rare to inspire Cornificius' parody of the first line of Ecl. 3 *cuium pecus? an Meliboei?* (see Conington, ad loc.). Cp. also *cuiavis*, Apol. 82. A popular form. Cp. Span. *cuyo*, -a.

14. **pro maximo.** *F* reads *p**ximo*, *φ pximo*. The sense given by *proximo*, even with the necessary addition of *pro*, is unsatisfactory. For Apuleius' use of the word *proximus* see note on c. 9 *proximum argumentum*. *pro maximo*, the reading of various of the later MSS. and of a late hand in *φ*, is clearly the true reading.

15. **proprie . . . communiter.** Cp. Quint. ix. 1. 23 *figura quam non communiter, sed proprie nominamus*.

16. **in philosophos.** For Apuleius' claim to be styled a philosopher see Intro., p. xxv. The charges to which he refers include practically all of the charges of magic.

sueta. The word is ordinarily found in classical Latin with

COMMENTARY: CHAPTER 3

the meaning 'accustomed to'; in the sense of 'customary' it is mainly post-classical. Cp. Tac. Ann. i. 64 *contra Cheruscis sueta apud paludes proelia*; Hist. ii. 80 *sueti militum contubernio*.

17. *utiliter blaterata*, 'interested vapourings'. For this use of *utiliter* cp. de Pl. i. 12 *cum impedimentum istud utiliter provenierit, res illa felicitas nominatur*. Colvius suggested *futiliter*. In choosing between the MSS. and the emendation we have the choice between two characteristic pleonasms. If we read *futiliter* we have the adverb repeating the sense of the verb with which it is connected; cp. Met. ix. 5 *dissimulanter abscondit*; x. 17 *rumor publice crebuerat*. On the other hand, if we read *utiliter* the same meaning will be repeated by *ob mercedem*; cp. Flor. 15 *deorsus ad pedes deiectus ipsos*. See Koziol, pp. 110, 156. *futiliter* is a little more natural and obvious, but there does not seem sufficient reason for the rejection of the reading of the MSS.

18. *blaterata*. A colloquial word, mostly ante- and post-classical. But cp. Hor. S. ii. 7. 35 *cum magno blateras clamore*. It is explained by Festus as *stulte et percupide loqui*.

auctoramento . . . depensa. Lit. 'laid out upon the reward of their shamelessness', i.e. to prove their shamelessness worthy of its hire. For this contemptuous use of *auctoramentum* = reward cp. Sen. de Ben. iv. 37. 1 *hominem uenalis animae crebris auctoramentis accendebat*.

19. *rabulis*, 'brawlers'. The word is used by Cicero; see Wilkins on de Or. i. 46. 202, for its derivation and later history.

id genus. This phrase is very common in Apuleius and his contemporaries, and is probably a revival of an old use. Varro has it frequently, and is the first author to use it except with the nom. and acc., e.g. R. R. iii. 9. 17 *aliis id genus rebus*, a use which disproves Dräger's explanation (i. 3) that it is grammatically in apposition. In the Apol. it is never used except with nom. and acc., apart from this passage, but it is used with other cases in the Met. (e.g. ii. 5 *lapillis et id genus friuolis*) and Flor. (e.g. 10 *ceterorumque id genus*). A similar construction is *puer hoc aevi* in c. 98. For the history of the idiom see Wölfflin, Archiv f. Lat. Lex. v. 387.

20. *alieno dolori locare*, 'to let out the venom of their tongue for another's hurt', i.e. the disreputable advocate is far more often found attacking than defending. Apuleius hints that the *patroni* of his accuser ply the trade of *delatores*. Cp. 89 *ut cum quadruplatores agam*.

21. *is qui*. For *is* of the first person cp. Sen. Ep. 63. 14 *is qui Annaeum Serenum tam immodice fleui*, etc.

sedulo. Apuleius is particularly fond of this adverb. He uses the adjective also in c. 36 and six times in the Met. The adverb was very common in the comic poets and in old Latin. Lindsay (p. 563) argues strongly for the view (which L. and S. treat as an

APVLEI APOLOGIA

error) that the adverb is formed from *sine dolo* and that the adjective was derived from it.

22. *ut ne*. Cp. c. 48 *ut ne quid dignum auribus tuis reticuerim*; c. 60 *ut ne impunitum Crasso foret*; de D. Socr. prol. 4 *ut ne id saltem olori concederet*. The use is found in the comic poets and Cicero, but practically disappears after the Augustan age.

inhonestamenti. Ante- and post-classical. Cp. Gracch. ap. Isid. Orig. ii. 21 *pueritia tua adulescentiae tuae inhonestamentum fuit*.

24. *puidentis animi et uerecundi*. Apuleius affects the co-ordination of adjectives which are practically synonymous. Cp. infra *enimvero bonus et innoxius quisque rudis et imperitas auris ad male audiendum habens*. See Koziol, p. 53.

25. *falsas uituperationes grauari*. *F* reads *falsa uituratione* (*suprascr. pe*). After each word, however, there is an erasure. *φ* reads *falsas uiturationes* (*suprascr. pe*), which we may conjecture to have been the original reading of *F*.

26. *grauari*, in the sense 'to be vexed, annoyed by', is generally followed by an accusative. *grauari* with the ablative has a more literal sense, 'to be weighed down by.'

27. *impendio* (ablative of *impendium*, 'outlay') is used as an adverb (Gell. xix. 7. 10 translates it as = *impense*) by the dramatists, especially with *magis*; e.g. Ter. Eun. 587 (Lindsay, p. 560).

28. *obirascantur*. The verb is mostly post-Augustan, though the past participle is found in Livy and Cicero.

exinde ut. Cp. Apol. 24 and 98; Met. ii. 13 and x. 9; *exinde cum*, Met. i. 24. Apuleius seems the only author who uses *exinde ut*.

32. *ad male audiendum*. *ad* is used frequently with *rudis* by Livy, and is found also in Ovid and Curtius; there seems to be no instance of *ad* after *imperitus*, though it is found with *peritus* in Cicero.

33. *multo tanta*. The phrase is frequent in Plautus (e.g. Bacch. 310, Rud. 521, Stich. 339). In Apuleius cp. 42 *multo tanta uanius*; Flor. 18 *multo tanta praestat*; Met. vii. 15 *multo tanta pluribus*; x. 21 *multo tanta impensius*; D. Socr. 11 *multo tanta subtilior*. Similar to this is *dimidio tanta* in Apol. 89. The form *tanta* is probably to be compared with such adverbs as *citra*, *ultra*, etc. Another view is that it is elliptical (sc. *pecunia*).

35. *oppido*. 'The most likely theory is that *oppidum*, a town, meant originally the part on the plain (*ob-pedum*, cp. Gk. *πεδίον*) as opposed to the *arx*. This distinction seems to be expressly made in the *Titulus Aletrinus* (C. I. L. i. 1166) in a passage referring to the water-supply of a town: *aquam in opidum adqu[e] arduom*. The adverbial ablative *oppido* will then be exactly similar to *plane*. In Plautus it goes usually with a verb, but in Terence only with an adjective' (Lindsay, p. 566). The word was already obsolete in

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 3, 4

Quintilian's time. Cp. Quint. viii. 3. 25 *oppido sunt usi paullulum tempore nostro superiores*. In c. 62 there is a pun on the adverb and the ablative of the noun: *lignum a me toto oppido et quidem oppido quaesitum*.

36. uorti. *F* here gives the archaic spelling; in view of Apuleius' love of archaism it is probable that *F* preserves the original spelling; so also in the proverbial *manum non uorterim* in c. 56. See note on *uorsus*, c. 9.

CHAPTER 4

2. **accusamus apud te philosophum formonsum et disertissimum.** Abt points out that beauty and eloquence were often supposed to go hand in hand with magic, and thinks that these accusations were made in connexion with the charge of magic. It is possible, but there is nothing to suggest it in the context. Probably the words in question were meant to suggest that Apuleius was a cunning adventurer who used his beauty and eloquence for evil purposes. The words seem like those quoted in cc. 102, 103 to come from the *libellus* mentioned there and in c. 2. For the association of eloquence with magic cp. Philostr. V. S. ii. 10. 6, p. 90 (Kayser), where he speaks of the famous sophist Hadrianus, a contemporary of Apuleius, as follows: *ἐτελεύτα δ' . . . οὕτως εὐδόκιμος, ὥς καὶ πολλοῖς γόης δόξαι. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἀνὴρ πεπαιδευμένος οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐς γοήτων ὑπαχθεῖν τέχνας, ἱκανῶς ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Διονυσίου λόγοις εἴρηκα, ὁ δέ, οἶμαι, τερατευόμενος ἐν ταῖς ὑποθέσεσι περὶ τὰ τῶν μάγων ἦθι τὴν ἐπωρυμῖαν ταύτην παρ' αὐτῶν ἔσπασεν*.

formonsum. *F* varies in the spelling of this word. In cc. 73 and 92 *formosa* is read, but in the *Metamorphoses* the *n* appears in every place but one. See Archiv. f. l. Lex. xi. 312, Lindsay, p. 69, and Purser, *Cupid and Psyche*, *formonsitatis*, p. 1.

tam Graece quam Latine. There was nothing extraordinary in this, though Apuleius may have been exceptionally fluent. As to the exact position of Greek in Roman Africa during the first two centuries our knowledge is small. See Thieling, *Hellenismus in Klein-Afrika*, where the literary evidence, Greek inscriptions, etc., are collected. The works of Apuleius show that it was pretty generally used by cultured people. In this speech he quotes Greek as though it would be understood by his audience (see below, note on *munera deum*, etc.). In the Florida we find prefaces to declamations which were written alternately in Greek and Latin, though it is true that these were intended for the more cultured ears of the Carthaginians. It has been supposed that Apuleius spoke Greek before he spoke Latin. The evidence for this is weak, being based on the opening chapter of the *Metamorphoses*. But it cannot for a moment be proved that there Apuleius is speaking *in propria*

persona. Further evidence is to be found in this speech in the fact that Pudentilla writes to her son in Greek (82, 83), and that Apuleius taunts Pudens with his ignorance both of Greek and Latin, though he admits that his mother has taught him a little Greek. This latter fact, taken in conjunction with the accusation or taunt levelled here against Apuleius, suggests that, while Greek was known and used freely in cultured circles, its knowledge was not general, at any rate at Oea. That the knowledge both of Greek and Latin was considered a distinct accomplishment is shown by inscriptions such as C. I. L. viii. 1540; 8500 *studiis utriusque linguae perfecte eruditus* (A.D. 229): and two similar inscriptions published by Merlin, *Mél. de l'École franç. de Rome*, 1903, pp. 117 ff. = *Rec. de Constantine*, 1904, p. 278. See Thieling, *op. cit.*, p. 27. Finally it should be noted that Greek had preceded Latin as a literary language in Africa. In the second century before Christ, after the fall of Carthage, Hasdrubal of Carthage had written no less than four hundred works in Greek (Diog. Laert. iv. 67; Cic. Ac. ii. 31, 32), and as successors he had Dionysius of Utica (Varr. R. R. i. 1. 10) and Juba, king of Numidia (Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* iii. 465 sqq.). Latin did not become the literary language of Africa before the first century A.D. (cp. Monceaux, *Les Africains*, p. 126).

4. *accusationem mei*. Cp. c. 1.

Tannonius Pudens. Clearly a *patronus* for Sicinius Pudens. See note on c. 2 *adscribit se ei assistere*. His name suggests that he was a relative of Pudens on the mother's side.

7. *opprobasset*. Ante- and post-classical; appears in Plautus and Gellius.

Homericus. Sc. II. iii. 65.

11. *munera deum gloriosissima*. This Latin translation of the lines just quoted was excised by Scriverius as a gloss. But the Latin, unlike that of the translations of the Platonic epigrams (c. 10), given in the cod. Dorvillianus, is good, and there is no reason to doubt its genuineness. It is true that elsewhere, when Apuleius quotes Greek, he does not think it necessary to translate (e.g. cc. 9, 10, 22, 25, etc.). But we cannot demand absolute consistency on minor points of this kind, least of all in Apuleius. Hildebrand further argues with some force that, had the Latin translation been the work of some later writer, it would probably have been in verse like the spurious translations to which reference has already been made.

14. *Pythagoram, qui primus, etc.* Pythagoras of Samos invented the term *φιλοσοφία*. Cp. Diog. Laert. i. Proem. 12. *Φφ* give *primum*, which is scarcely defensible. It is conceivable that Apuleius might have used *primum* here adverbially in its sense 'for the first time', but it is hardly credible owing to the ambiguity to which the phrase would give rise. For the sentence would

naturally mean 'who announced himself to be the first philosopher', and this is not the sense required. *primus* (Krüger) gives excellent sense and involves practically no change (*primūse* for *primusse*). Cp. Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 129 Πυθαγόρας φιλόσοφον εἰαυτὸν πρῶτος ἀπηγόρευσεν. Apuleius in Flor. 15 calls Pythagoras *primus philosophiae nuncupator et conditor*.

se esse is unique in Apuleius after *nuncupo*, and Novák is perhaps right in deleting *esse*. Helm suggests that *se esse* is a corruption for *sese*.

15. *excellentissima forma*. Cp. Flor. 15 *pulcritudine apprime insignis*; Porphyr. Vit. Pyth. 18 τὴν τε γὰρ ἰδέαν εἶναι ἐλευθέριον καὶ μέγαν χάριν τε πλείστην καὶ κόσμον ἐπὶ τε τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τοῦ ἡθους καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἔχειν.

16. *Zenonem illum antiquum*. The favourite disciple of Parmenides, *flor. circ.* 450 B.C. See Diog. Laert. ix. 25.

Velia. The Greek Ἑλέη or Ἑλέα in Lucania. Cp. Serv. ad Verg. Aen. vi. 359 *Velia dicta est a paludibus, quibus cingitur, quas Graeci Ἑλη dicunt. Fuit ergo Helia, sed accepit digamma et facta Velia est ut Enetus Venetus*.

oriundum = *ortum*. So regularly in Apuleius; cp. Flor. 22 *Thebis oriundus*; de Pl. i. 2 *Argis oriundum*; Met. x. 18 *oriundus patria Corintho*. The use is rare, but classical.

17. *argumenta ambifariam dissoluerit*. The MSS. give no object for *dissoluerit*. There seems no trace of its use absolutely in a technical sense, and Helm is almost certainly right in inserting *argumenta* (after Van der Vliet's *argumentum*): cp. Flor. 18 *argumentum ambifariam proposuit*. The meaning of the phrase is obscure. We are indebted to Professor Cook Wilson for the following note: 'A comparison of the passage with the captious argument of Protagoras (Flor. l. c.), which is in the form of a dilemma, might suggest that *ambifariam* in both places means "by dilemma". But this is not a natural way of describing the method of Zeno. The characteristic of his philosophy was, according to tradition, that he tried to prove the thesis of Parmenides negatively by disproving the hypothesis contradictory to it. The disproof consisted in showing that the hypothesis in question involved a contradiction. If therefore *ambifariam* means "by dilemma", it would appear that Apuleius did not understand the true characteristic of Zeno's method of disproof, which is not properly called dilemma. But it is not necessary to assume such a mistake on the part of Apuleius. In Apuleius (*περί ἔρμ.*; 12) the word *bifariam* occurs in the sense "in two ways". Of a proposition which can be refuted in two different ways (i. e. by proving two different proofs which contradict it) he says "*bifariam tollitur*". There is no idea of dilemma in the case. By analogy *ambifariam* may mean "ambiguously" in the sense of involving both sides of a contradiction (i. e. both of two contradictory propositions). This

would suit the passage in the Florida well, for the argument, as the context shows, involves a contradiction. Zeno's argumentation also could be correctly described as *ambifariam dissoluere*, because he refuted the thesis opposed to that of Parmenides by showing that it involves a contradiction. Then the meaning of the passage will be that Zeno's cleverness (*sollertissimum artificium*) lay in the use of the *reductio ad absurdum* argument. In that case the translation will be "was the first to discover that most ingenious device of refuting hypotheses by the method of self-inconsistency". This view is supported by a line cited from Timon of Phlius by Diog. Laert. ix. 25, where the word ἀμφοτερόγλωσσος is used with reference to Zeno's methods of argument. sc. ἀμφοτερογλώσσου τε μέγα σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδνόν.

ambifariam. Cp. Flor. l. c. The word is not found before Apuleius. It occurs also in Aug. c. Iul. op. imp. v. 15, p. 1446 A; Sidon. Ep. iv. 3. 10; ix. 11. 2; Alc. Avit. Ep. 92, p. 99, 21; see Thes. i. 1837.

18. eum quoque Zenonem. For the resumptive use of *eum* cp. c. 2 *eam solam sibi delegit* (note on *tacere*). For the repetition of the noun cp. c. 53 *an quod libertus assiduus . . . quod is libertus*; Flor. 15 *Brachmannos . . . eorum ergo Brachmannum*.

longe decorissimum. A slight exaggeration. All that Plato says (Parmenides 127 b) is Ζήνωνά τε ἐγγύς τῶν τετταράκοντα τότε εἶναι, εὐμήκη δὲ καὶ χαριέντα ἰδεῖν. Cp. also Diog. Laert. ix. 25. The superlative *decorissimus* occurs only here. Cicero uses *maxime decorus*, while Apuleius himself (Met. iii. 16) has *summe decorus*.

19. autumat. *autumo* probably derives through the form *autumo* from *ouitumo* (Gk. οἶω for ὀφίω); see Lindsay, p. 235. The word was common in Plautus, but by Quintilian's time was becoming obsolete in prose; see viii. 3. 26 *reor tolerabile, autumo tragicum*.

ab ore. *ab* = 'on the score of', 'as concerns'. This use of *ab* is familiar in the comic poets and found also in Cicero's letters; cp. Plaut. Mil. 631 *ab ingenio senex*; Truc. 833 *ab ingenio improbus*; Ter. Phorm. 340 *otiosum ab animo*; Apul. Met. iv. 21 *sed a gloria non periuit*. See Hand, Tursell, i, p. 58.

21. aliquam multum. The expression *aliquam multi* appears in Cic. Verr. ii. 4. 25. 56 *sunt uestrum aliquam multi qui Pisonem norunt*. In that passage it seems to mean 'quite enough' rather than 'very many'. The combination of *aliquam* with *multus* and *multum* is not uncommon in Apuleius; cp. Apol. 72 and 97; Met. i. 24 *aliquantum multum*; v. 26; xi. 26; Flor. 16.

22. cui praeter formae mediocritatem, etc. Apuleius is not too sincere in his disclaimer of good looks, for later (92) he alludes to himself as *iuuenem neque corpore neque animo neque fortuna poenitendum*.

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 4, 5

24. **habitudo**. Ante- and post-classical; used by Terence and Auct. Her. The classical word is *habitus*. Apuleius also uses the plural in c. 14 *tam varias habitudines corporis*. It is combined with *habitus* in Met. i. 20 *habitus et habitudo*; ix. 39 *ut indicabat habitus et habitudo* (dress and bearing).

29. **globosus** here with the uncomplimentary sense of 'matted' or 'balled-up'. But the word *conglobatus* is used without any sense of disparagement about Fotis' hair in Met. ii. 9. Cp. also Met. v. 22 of Cupid's hair: *crinium globos decoriter impeditos*.

30. **discriminandi**. The word occurs with the same meaning of 'parting the hair' in Met. vi. 28, a passage where *congestus* also occurs with the same sense as here. Cp. also ii. 9 *pectinis arguti dente discriminatus*.

31. **crinium crimen . . . capitale**. See Introd., p. lv.

CHAPTER 5

1. **De eloquentia** = 'with regard to my eloquence'. For this use of *de* in opening a new subject for discussion cp. c. 24 *de patria mea*. So too Cic. Off. i. 15. 47 *de benevolentia autem quam quisque habeat erga nos, primum illud est in officio*.

3. **ex summis uiribus**. Cp. c. 74 *ex summis uiribus conflauit*; Met. ii. 32 *ex summis uiribus irruentes*; Plaut. Mil. 620 *ex opibus summis*; Merc. 111 *ex summis opibus uiribusque*. See Dräger, i, p. 638; Brock, p. 199.

5. **diuque noctuque**. *diu* is an archaism adopted from Plautus by Sallust and Tacitus, who use it in the phrases *diu noctuque* or *noctu diuque*.

9. **Statium Caecilium**. One of the most famous of Roman writers of comedy (died 168 B.C.). He was an Insubrian Gaul, a slave by birth, the friend and contemporary of Ennius. Cp. Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 59 *dicitur . . . uincere Caecilius grauitate*.

poematibus. Found also in Suet. Tit. 3 *in fingendis poematibus*. The classical form is *poematis*. Apuleius is not consistent in the form that he adopts in different words with this ending. Thus he has in c. 51 *problematis*; in Flor. 19, Met. iii. 17 and xi. 16 *aromatibus*; but in Flor. 7 *toreumatibus*, Met. v. 10 *cataplasmatibus*. (In Asclep. 38 the pseudo-Apuleius has *aromatibus*.)

10. **innocentiam eloquentiam esse**. A good example of the *grauitas* of Caecilius. Cp. for similar moral apophthegms Caec. ap. Symm. Ep. ix. 114 *homo homini deus est, si suum officium sciat*; ap. Cic. T. D. iii. 23 *saepe est etiam sub palliolo sordido sapientia*. See v. 248 Sc. Rom. poes. fragm. (Ribbeck).

11. **praefero** is not found outside Apuleius with accusative and infinitive (Koziol, p. 89, n. 4). See Addenda.

13. **quippe qui**. See note on c. 3.

APVLEI APOLOGIA

17. **dissertabo.** Ante-classical and post-Augustan, used especially by Tacitus.

20. **absonē.** The adverb is post-classical, being found in Gellius, Arnobius, and Marius Victor. The adjective is classical.

CHAPTER 6

1. **epistolium** only appears, apart from Apuleius, in Catullus lxviii. 2. Apuleius possibly has this passage in mind, as he uses it in a paragraph where he is about to quote Catullus. The word reappears in c. 79 *an sola Phaedra falsum epistolium de amore commenta est?*

2. **quendam.** For the contemptuous use of *quidam* cp. Cic. Att. xvi. 8. 2 *Caecinam quendam Volaterranum.*

Calpurnianum. Presumably the same person who is mentioned as the accomplice of Rufinus in c. 60.

5. **aliquid tersui dentibus.** For the two datives, one of purpose, one of the indirect object, cp. c. 56 *non modo indutui et amictui sanctissimis Aegyptiorum sacerdotibus, sed opertui quoque rebus sacris usurpatur.* The word *tersui* is found only here and in Met. i. 7 *quod unctui, quod tersui ipse praeministro*; i. 22 *oleum unctui et lintea tersui . . . profer.* Cp. also note on c. 1 *latibulum temeritati.*

8. **tibi munditias.** The MSS. give the unmetrical line *misi ut petisti munditias dentium.* The simplest correction is that of Dousa, who inserts *tibi*, which might easily have dropped out after the *ti* of *petisti*. The generally accepted conjecture of Lipsius, *mundicinas*, involves a ἀπ. λεγ., and the formation of the word is very doubtful. Moreover, at the beginning of c. 7 Apuleius seems definitely to refer to this line in the phrase *munditias oris.* (Forms such as *furatrina* (Met. vi. 13), *indicina* (vi. 8), *iuridicina* (Tert. Pall. 3 fin.), *uestificina* (id. ib.), which are cited by Oudendorp, are not really analogous.)

9. **nitelas.** Post-classical; the only other author quoted by L. and S. for this word is Solinus.

10. **candificum.** Found only in Apuleius and in a passage cited by the Thesaurus: Eug. Tolet. carm. lxxv. 3 *haec candifico praenitent tegmina cultu.* Other similar compounds not found in earlier Latin are *expergificus* (Flor. 13), *uoluptificus* (Flor. 10), *beatificus* (de Pl. i. 5).

tenuem puluisculum. Apuleius is fond of using diminutives accompanied by adjectives which practically repeat the diminutive force. A large number of examples are quoted by Koziol, pp. 44-5: e.g. Met. ii. 23 *breuem posticulam*; x. 29 *tenui specula*; Apol. 101 *exiguum herediolum.*

puluisculum. Ante- and post-classical; used also of the dust

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 5-7

in which mathematicians drew their figures; see c. 16 *abaco et puluisculo*. Cp. also Met. ix. 12 *in modum pugilum qui puluisculo perspersi dimicant*.

11-12. *complanatorem . . . conuerritorem*. ἀπ. λεγ.

tumidulae gingiuulae. Neither of these diminutives are found before Apuleius. For his love of diminutives cp. Met. ii. 7 *ipsa linea tunica mundule amicta et russea fasceola praenitente altiuscule sub ipsas papillas succinctula illud cibarium uasculum floridis palmulis rotabat in circulum*.

12. *pridianae*. A post-Augustan word, found in Suetonius. It occurs in the *Metamorphoses* vii. 20 and xi. 7.

reliquiae. For the use of the singular instead of the plural cp. c. 9 *delicia*; c. 56 *facetia*; Met. v. 20 *tenebra*.

13. *labes sordium*. The genitive is practically equivalent to the noun on which it depends. Cp. Met. i. 7 *sordium eluuiem* (Koziol, p. 23).

14. *restrictis labellis*. *restringere* is used sometimes as here of drawing back the lips to show the teeth (cp. Quint. Decl. xii. 27 *restrictis labris*), sometimes of laying bare the teeth (cp. Plaut. Capt. 486 *dentes ut restringerent*). Cp. also the phrase *rabie restricta* in Lucr. v. 1065.

16. *nisi forte*. Used several times in this speech, and always ironically; cp. cc. 14, 30, 58, 66, 89. Cp. also the use of *nisi si* (17) and *si . . . forte non* (24 ad fin.).

19. *Hiberorum*. See Ellis on Catullus xxxix. 18.

sua sibi = *propria*. A common use in Apuleius, and probably one familiar in ordinary speech. It is frequent in the comic writers, and found once in Cicero, Lael. 13. 45 *satis superque esse sibi suarum cuique rerum*. In the present instance *sibi* is in the line of Catullus immediately preceding that quoted. Cp. 69 *sua sibi uoce suisque uerbis sese reuincat*. Also Flor. 9, 16, 18, 23; Met. i. 6 and 10, iv. 32, v. 1, vii. 13 and 28, viii. 13, ix. 40. See Koziol, p. 78, where however the example quoted from Cic. Phil. ii. 37. 96 is not really parallel. We find also in Plaut. Truc. 698 *mea mihi praemia*; Bacch. 994 *tuos tibi seruos*.

20. *pumicare*. The word actually used by Catullus is *defricare*. *pumicare* was a natural word to substitute, as pounded pumice was a very frequent form of dentifrice; see Plin. xxxvi. 156.

CHAPTER 7

2. *munditias oris*. Cp. note above on *tibi munditias*, c. 6. For play on *oris* and *orator* cp. Introd., p. lviii.

4. *nemo quisquam*. The pleonastic *quisquam* with *nemo* and *quicquam* with *nihil* are to be found in the comic poets: e. g. *nemo quisquam* in Plaut. Cas. 1008, Ter. Eun. 226 and 1032, Hec. 67;

nihil quicquam in Plaut. Trin. 369, Ter. And. 90, Phorm. 80 and 250. For the latter cp. in this speech cc. 22 and 31.

6. *nihil uspiam corporis aperti immundum*. *aperti immundum* is Helm's certain correction of *apertum mundum* (Fφ). In the margin of φ a late hand has written *immundum*. But Helm's correction is much closer to Fφ.

7. *fetulentum*. Post-classical for the classical *fetidus*.

8. *in propatulo et conspicuo*. Cp. c. 16 *quid ego in propatulo et celebri agam*; 40 *sed omnia in propatulo ago*. Here we have coupled two practically synonymous adjectives, of which one signifies cause and the other effect. Cp. Met. ii. 8 *in aperto et perspicuo*. See Koziol, p. 7.

9. *quicquam*. For the form cp. Plaut. Pers. 477 *nec satis a quicquam homine accepi*; Asin. 175 *cum quicquam amante*; 230 *cum quicquam alio*; 754; Cist. 86. The ablative of *ullus* is commoner than the ablative of *quisquam*. Livy, however, always uses *quoquam*.

10. *preces alleget* = 'offer up prayer'. Cp. 54 *preces allegasti*; D. Socr. 5. *causas allegare* = 'offer reason' is found in Apol. 70, Flor. 16.

11. *poeta praecipuus*. Homer, Od. i. 64 ἔρκος ὀδόντων. (Cp. Flor. 15 *intra murum candentium dentium*; de Plat. i. 14 *dentium uallum*.)

12. *dares ... diceret*. Cp. Cic. Off. iii. 19. 75 *dares hanc uim M. Crasso ut digitorum percussione heres posset scriptus esse ... in foro, mihi crede, saltaret*.

15. *animi ... comitium*. Oudendorp compares Ambros. Hexaem. vi. 9. 68 *quid est igitur os hominis nisi quoddam sermonis adytum, fons disputationis, aula uerborum, promptuarium uoluntatis?*

16. *pro meo captu*, 'in my humble opinion', Cp. Flor. 9 and 17. The phrase is post-classical. In Cicero, T. D. ii. 27. 65, we have *ut est captus hominum*.

17. *libero et liberali*. For this combination of adjectives cp. Met. iv. 9 *solus ac solitarius*; iv. 31 *unum et unicum*. (In Met. vii. 23 Fφ read *mansuetos ac mansues*; Helm, however, objects that in such cases the longer adjective always occupies the second place, and he therefore reads *mites*, the conjecture of Pricaeus.) Fronto, ad Amic. i. 1, has *ingenio libero ac liberali*.

19. *feris et pecudibus*. Cp. Sen. Ep. 108. 20 *pecudibus ferisue*; N. Q. iii. 25. 2 *fera et pecus omne*; Suet. Ner. 31 *pecudum et ferarum* (Hildebrand). A general expression for animals. Cp. also Apol. 12 *pecuinis et ferinis*.

20. *deorsum ad pedes deiectum*. For this redundantly expressed phrase cp. Flor. 15 *deorsus ad pedes deiectus*.

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 7, 8

CHAPTER 8

7. **exoticus**. Ante- and post-classical. It is found in Plautus and Gellius. Cp. Met. i. 1 *exotici ac forensis sermonis*. It occurs also in Ascl. 1 *multa physica exoticaque quam plurima*.

emaculet. Post-Augustan; found in the elder Pliny, Gellius, and Macrobius.

8. **carbone de rogo**. Apuleius is merely recommending to Aemilianus a repulsive form of dentifrice. Abt (p. 95) quotes references for this use of charcoal as a dentifrice at the present time. It is improbable that there should be any reference to magical practice here; one purpose, however, for which brands taken from pyres were used is recorded by Aelian, Nat. Anim. i. 38 ὅστις βούλεται κλῶψ ἢ λήσσης κύνας ἄγαν ἀγριωτάτους κατασιγάσαι καὶ θεῖναι φυγάδας ἐκ πυρᾶς ἀνθρώπου δαδὸν λαβῶν ὁμοσε αὐτοῖς χωρεῖ.

obteruerit. Cp. Met. viii. 23 *conterui* (but in xi. 28 *adtriu-uerant*); Tib. i. 4. 48 *atteruisse*. Lindsay, p. 509, shows how in vulgar Latin, as reflected in Romance languages, the ending *-ui* encroached. He quotes *mouuit, caduit, stetuit, uenuit*. 'In late inscriptions we have e.g. *reguit* (C.I.L. v. 923 from Aquileia SEPTIMAE QVI COHORTIS CENTVRIAM REGVIT; CONVERTVIT (viii. 2532, D. b. 1)).'

9. **amaritudinum**. For the plural cp. Val. Max. iv. 4 *diuitiarum frons hilaris, multis inius amaritudinibus referta*.

10. **praeministra**. Post-classical; found also in Macrobius. The verb appears in Met. v. 2 *tuae famulae sedulo tibi praeministrabimus*; Met. i. 7 *praeministro*.

fetutinis et olenticetis. Post-classical and rare. For the metaphorical use of the first cp. Val. Prob. ap. Gell. xiii. 21 (20). 1 *fetutinas grammaticas spectare*.

11. **malum**. The word is not a direct vocative, but, having been originally an ellipse for *quod malum est*, is used in relation to the sentence, much as our own expletives, 'the deuce', etc. This may be seen by comparing the same idiom in an indirect sentence, Met. iv. 25 *anus dicere iubebat quid malum fleret*. So too possibly with *bonum* in Met. x. 16 *sciscitatus denique quid bonum rideret* = our 'why to goodness'. See Dräger, i, p. 206, who explains this as an example of euphemism. The expression is also found with *ratio* in Cicero. Cp. Phil. x. 9. 18 *quae, malum, est ista ratio?* de Off. ii. 15. 53.

13. **denticulo**. The word is not found with the ordinary meaning of *dens* before Apuleius. Vitruvius uses it as an architectural term = 'modillion'.

uenenum inspirare. Cp. Verg. G. iv. 236 *laesaeque uenenum morsibus inspirant*.

15. **merito**. Sittl (Jahresbericht Cl. Alt., lxxviii. 236) takes this as used prepositionally = 'for the sake of'. This use is found in

Tertullian; e.g. Marc. iv. 8 *merito unius prouerbii*; Scorp. 8 *merito damnationis*; also in Lampridius, Iulius Valerius, etc. For examples see Wölfflin, Archiv, i. 174. It is possible here, but it is easier to take *eius* as the antecedent of *qui*, and not as neuter.

praelauitur. Not found before Apuleius. For parts of *lauëre* in use see Neue, Formenl. iii. 258.

16. *de homine nato*. Cp. c. 14 *an tu ignoras nihil esse aspectabilis homini nato quam formam suam?* Met. ix. 1 *sed nimirum nihil Fortuna renuente homini nato dexterum prouenire*. This use of the word seems only to occur with *homo* in Apuleius. Plautus in several places uses it with *nemo*, as though it were definitely used for *mortalis*. Cp. the biblical phrase 'Man that is born of a woman' (Job xiv. 1).

17. *crocodillus*. This spelling of the MSS. may be illustrated by a large number of examples from inscriptions, where single and double *l* have been confused. Especially common was this mistake in words ending in *-elus*, *-ilus*, *-ulus*, which were confused with Latin diminutives. Thus *camelus* (Gk. κάμηλος) was often spelt *camellus*: cp. modern Italian *cammello* and *cocodrillo*. See Lindsay, p. 115, Isid. Orig. i. 32. 8 *labdacismus est, si pro uno L duo pronuntientur, ut Afri faciunt*. Cp. Pomp. Maur. Comm. Art. Donat., quoted in Keil, Gramm. Lat. v, p. 287, *labdacismus scalent Afri, raro est ut aliquis dicat L* (Brock, p. 178).

For this story of the crocodile see Herodotus ii. 68; Arist. Hist. An. i. 6, p. 612. The bird in question, the *trochilus* of Herodotus, is probably the black-headed plover (*Hya* or *Pluvianus Aegyptius*). The spur-winged plover (*Hoplopterus spinosus*) also performs the same service to the crocodile. The story is true, though the leeches do not stick in the crocodile's teeth, but adhere to his lips. See Brehm, From North Pole to Equator (Engl. trans.), pp. 227 and 577.

ea. Cp. note on c. 2, l. 3 *eam*.

18. *comperior*. The deponent is found in Ter. And. 902; Sall. Jug. 45. 1 and 108. 3. In Tac. Ann. iv. 20 it is a quotation from Sallust (Jug. 45. 1). Apuleius has it in several passages, e.g. Flor. 16, Met. ii. 21 and xi. 27, Apol. 37. Cp. Gell. iii. 3. 1. Diomedes (i. 377. 18) draws a fanciful distinction between it and *comperio*: *Comperior ex mea opinione colligo et compertum habeo; comperio est ab alio cognosco*.

19. *elingui*. Cp. Plin. viii. 37 *unum hoc animal terrestre linguae usu caret*. The crocodile, though not actually tongueless, has the superficial appearance of so being. The tongue is attached to the jaw all round, so that no portion of it is free.

21. *praeripia*. ἀπ. λεγ.

ex auibis fluuialibus amica auis. It is unnecessary with Brantius to delete *auibus*; the repetition is quite in Apuleius' manner. Helm compares Flor. 12 *psittacus auis Indiae auis est*. Rather

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 8, 9

similar is the redundancy of *avis* in Met. v. 28 *tunc avis peralba illa gauiā*, where H. Müller deletes the word.

23. **exsculpit.** Cp. the use of the word in Lucilius (286, ed. Marx) *esuriente leoni ex ore exsculpere praedam*. Nonius (102. 22) says of this line *exsculpere est extorquere*.

CHAPTER 9

1. **uorsus.** 'Lat. *uo-* became *ue-* in the middle of the second century B.C. Quintilian tells us that Scipio Africanus (Minor) was credited by tradition with this change of orthography (i. 7. 25 *quid dicam "uortices" et "uorsus" ceteraque in eundem modum, quae primus Scipio Africanus in e litteram secundam uertisse dicitur?*). The grammarians of the empire sometimes advised the retention of these forms for the sake of distinctions, e.g. Caper, 99. 11 K *uortex fluminis est, uertex capitis*; 97. 15 *uorsus paginae dicitur, uersus participium est a uerbo uertor*' (Lindsay, p. 228). The change of spelling did not involve any change of pronunciation. The spelling of *F* is inconsistent, *uersus* being the usual spelling elsewhere in the Apologia. But cp. *uitio uorti*, c. 3 ad fin.

amatorios. The word *amatorius* is used for a love-philtre, and Abt (p. 97) quotes passages from Pliny (N. H. ix. 79, viii. 83, xxviii. 19), where the word is used with the sense of 'causing to love'. He seems to think that Apuleius is availing himself of an ambiguity in the word, and trying to let a charge of composing magical spells appear as a charge of writing ordinary love-poems. There is the same intentional ambiguity, according to him, in *carmine laudauit* in the next sentence. But Apuleius uses the same phrase in c. 22, where no ambiguity is intended: *una perula quam postea comperta utilitate etiam carmine laudauit*.

3. **magica maleficia.** See c. 1 note on *maleficiorum*.

pueros might mean 'slaveboys' or 'sons'. But (c. 10) *Man-
tuanus poeta, qui itidem ut ego puerum amici sui Pollionis lau-
dans, etc.* points to the first meaning being correct. For *puerum
Pollionis* undoubtedly refers to a slaveboy; see note ad loc.

5. **fando** = 'by hearsay'. It is used substantively as = *fama, rumore*. The phrase is repeated in Apol. 42 and 81. So too with *accipimus* in Flor. 3, *comperisti* in Met. vi. 15. Cp. Verg. Aen. ii. 81 *fando aliquod si forte tuas peruenit ad aures . . . nomen*.

uerisimilem is Krüger's emendation of the MSS. *similem*; cp. 58 *uerisimiliter commentum*. It has been urged that *similem* is correct = *εἰκόνα* (so Plasberg in App. Crit. of Helm's text). But there is no parallel for such a use, though it would not be wholly unintelligible and would give a better balance to the parallel phrases. *subtilem* (Desertine) is perhaps worth mentioning.

6. **suspicionem . . . coniecturam . . . argumentum.** Hildebrand notes that Cicero has practically the same combination of

phraseology in Verr. ii. 5. 9. 22 *tantum in hoc crimine suspicionis esse affirmabo ut iam ipsis indicibus sine mea argumentatione coniecturam facere permittam.*

proximum. The word used as an ordinary adjective (= 'easy, obvious, convenient') is ante- and post-classical; cp. Gell. iii. 14. 12 *nam cum obuium proximumque esset dicere.* Apuleius has it again in c. 29 (*quo proximo signo*) and c. 35 (*oppido proxima humanitate*). It is used as though it were a positive and not a superlative, being accompanied in this instance by *tam*, in the last quoted by *oppido*. So in Ulpian and Minucius Felix we find a comparative form *proximius*.

10. magiae detulistis. For 'judicial' genitive cp. note on *in-simulationis falsae plecteretur*, c. 2.

12. Teius quidam. Anacreon of Teos, *circ.* 520 B.C. See *Intro.*, p. liii.

quidam. Hildebrand thinks that the word is used ironically because his opponents were so ignorant that they would not know a well-known name like Anacreon. But it may just as well have been used playfully where the real names were so well known that it was unnecessary to name them.

Lacedaemonius. Alcman, *circ.* 650 B.C. (Scip. Gentilis and Floridus suggest that the reference is to Dionysodotus, whose poems are mentioned in Athen. xv. 22. But Athenaeus says no more than that he was a Laconian and wrote paeans.)

Cius (sc. Κείος) is Bosscha's emendation for *ciuis* MSS. But in view of *Teius* above there is much to be said for Helm's suggestion *Cei*us, though it is slightly further from the MSS., and *Ceus* or *Cius* seem to be the normal forms of the adjective. The allusion is to Simonides of Ceos, *circ.* 520 B.C.

13. mulier Lesbica. Sappho, *circ.* 600 B.C.

15. Aedituus . . . Porcius . . . Catulus. Erotic epigrams by all three are cited by Gellius, xix. 9. 11-14, while Cicero quotes another epigram by Catulus in the *de Nat. Deor.* i. 28. 79. Of Valerius Aedituus and Porcius Licinus nothing is known. They probably flourished during the last quarter of the second century B.C. Quintus Lutatius Catulus was consul in 102 B.C., and commander with Marius in the Cimbrian war.

16. isti is used redundantly, as is *is* in many places and *hunc* in c. 58. See note on c. 2, l. 3 *eam solam delegit*.

17. serium. In classical Latin the word is used only of things. Hildebrand quotes passages where it is used of persons; e.g. Apol. 98 *amicos serios aspernatur*; Amm. Marc. xxvi. 2. 2 *uir serius*; xxix. 6. 1 *principe serio*.

19. μηρῶν ἱμείρων κτλ. Cp. Plut. Erot. 5 'εὖ γε νῆ Δί', ἔφη, 'τοῦ Σόλωνος ἐμνήσθης καὶ χρηστέον αὐτῷ γνώμονι τοῦ ἐρωτικοῦ ἀνδρός, ἔσθ' ἥβης ἐρατοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀνθεσι παιδοφιλήσῃ | μηρῶν κτλ. . . ὅθεν οἶμαι καὶ ὁ Σόλων ἐκέῖνα μὲν ἔγραψε νέος ὧν ἔτι καὶ σπέρματος πολλοῦ

COMMENTARY: CHAPTER 9

μεστός, ὡς ὁ Πλάτων φησί· ταυτὶ δὲ πρεσβύτης γενόμενος, ἔργα δὲ Κυπριογενοῦς νῦν μοι φίλα καὶ Διονύσου | καὶ Μουσέων, ἃ τίθησ' ἀνδράσιν εὐφροσύνας.' Cp. also Athen. p. 602. It is rather hard to accept these verses as genuine and the evidence for their authenticity is very late.

et quid . . . habent . . . si cum isto contendantur? For the form of the conditional sentence cp. 81 *si cum hac una contendantur, macchi prorsus et buccones uidebuntur*.

21. Diogenis Cynici. Cp. Diog. Laert. vi. 80, where an ἔρωτικός is cited among the works of Diogenes. Of its nature nothing is known. Antisthenes, the founder of the Cynic school, wrote a work περὶ ζώων φύσεως, περὶ παιδοποιίας ἢ περὶ γάμου ἔρωτικός (Diog. Laert. vi. 15).

Zenonis. Of Citium. Diog. Laert. vii. 1. 34 περὶ τε ἔρωτικῶν διεῖλεται, κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐπιγραφομένης ἔρωτικῆς τέχνης. The work was, however, according to Diog. Laert., wrongly ascribed to Zeno; the paragraph concludes καὶ τοσαῦτα περὶ τῶν ἀθετουμένων αὐτοῦ. It is noteworthy, however, that the famous Stoic Chrysippus was accused of coarseness; cp. Diog. Laert. vii. 1. 87 εἰσὶ δ' οἱ κατατρέχουσι τοῦ Χρυσίππου ὡς πολλὰ αἰσχροῦς καὶ ἀρρήτως ἀναγεγραφότος. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ περὶ ἀρχαίων φυσιολόγων συγγράμματι αἰσχροῦς τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἥραν καὶ τὸν Δία ἀναπλάττει, λέγων κατὰ τοὺς ἑξακοσίους στίχους ἃ μηδεὶς ἡτυχηκῶς μολύνειν τὸ στόμα εἴποι ἂν.

22. id genus. See note on c. 3 *rabulis id genus*.

recitem. The hortative use of the first person singular of the subjunctive is rare. The word recurs again later in the chapter. We may compare, if we accept Helm's emendation of *cohibeam* for *cohibebam* (88), *cohibeam me in tam prolixo loco*.

24. delicia. The singular is used by Plautus; cp. Truc. 921 *at ego ad te ibam mea delicia*; Rud. 426 *tum tibi operam ludo et deliciae dabo*. Poen. 365 *mea delicia, mea uita*, on which passage cp. Gellius xix. 8. 6. See note on c. 6 *reliquiae*.

26. ignis et ignis = 'fire on fire'. There seems no parallel for this form of expression.

27. hasce. In the comic poets the particle *-ce* has not the value of a separate syllable; its separate syllabic existence only appears in more serious poetry as in Enn. 194 (Baehrens) *haece locutus uocat*. See Lindsay, p. 433. Apuleius uses the word both in poetry and prose; cp. cc. 35, 99, 101, etc.

dum potiar, patiar. For similar combinations of words differing only with one vowel cp. c. 56 *nullus locus aut lucus consecratus*; Flor. 1 *aliqui lucus aut aliqui locus*; 7 *rebus actis et auctis*; 15 *in sarculo et surculo*, etc. (Koziol, p. 203).

33. sarta tuo genio. For flowers as a birthday offering to the genius cp. Tib. ii. 2. 1 *dicamus bona uerba: uenit natalis ad aras, / quisquis ades, lingua uir mulierque faue.* / . . . *ipse suos adsit genius uisurus honores, / cui decorent sanctas florea sarta comas.*

36. tempore tempora. Cp. Introd., p. lvi.

APVLEI APOLOGIA

38. **tu mihi des contra.** *des* is Krüger's emendation of *das* Fφ. The vulgate *da* is supported by Purser (Hermath. xiv. no. 33, p. 364), 'not only on account of *redde* in the next hexameter, but also because *s* is often wrongly added at the end of words in *F*, e. g. 48 *illis*, 57 *cauponis*, 70 *solitudinis*, 92 *coniugis*.' Against this must be set the superior euphony of *des contra* as opposed to *da contra*. *dans* (Bywater) is closest to the MSS., but a little less vigorous than *des* or *da*.

40. **pro implexis.** For the elision of a monosyllable at the beginning of the line cp. Cat. lxxxix. 5 *qui ut*.

implexis . . . complexum. For the combination of two words compounded with different prefixes cp. 14 *ab ineunte pueritia ad obeuntem senectam*; 45 *serui adsunt*, . . . *eos dissimulas*; *unus puerulus abest, eum insimulas*; 65 *non tam ignoscendi quam cognoscendi causa*; 76 *flore exsoleto, flammeo obsoleto*; 101 *qui potuit perorare, poterit exorare*; Flor. 3 *praemulsis antiis et promulsis caproneis*; Flor. 12 *et intimis plumulis et extimis palmulis*; 15 *meditari condiscere, loquitari dediscere*; 16 *sed de hoc tum ego perfectius cum uos effectius*; Met. vii. 5 *libentius uulnera corpore excipientem quam aurum manu suscipientem*.

42. **donaci.** The brilliant emendation of Haupt for the *dona et nam* of Fφ. The word is used several times by Pliny the Elder, but generally as the name of fishes (e.g. the *solen* in xxxii. 151). It is used of the reed in xxiv. 86, but apparently never as in Greek (e.g. Aesch. P. V. 574) of the musical instrument made from it.

43. **dulciloquo calamo.** Cp. Auson. Id. xx. 4 *dulciloquos calamos Euterpe flatibus urget*.

CHAPTER 10

4. **appellitarim.** The word appears in Tac. Ann. iv. 65, where Furneaux (see note ad loc.) suggests that Tacitus has taken it from the speech of Claudius, whose version of events he is following. It was probably in that case an old word hunted up by the antiquarian emperor. Cp. 63 *hoccine est quod appellitabatis daemonium*? It appears also in Gellius and Macrobius.

eadem opera = 'while they are about it'. Cp. c. 35; Plaut. Bacch. 521 *eadem* (sc. *opera*); c. 79 *eadem uita*.

5. **C. Catullum.** The only other passage where this *praenomen* is given to Catullus is Jerome on Ol. clxxiii. 2. Four of the inferior codices of Catullus call him Quintus, as do some of the later codd. of Pliny, xxxvii. 81. Apuleius is not a strong authority to quote for *praenomina*. He or the scribes of the MSS. have given the wrong names to Albucius (*A* for *T*), Norbanus (*Cn* for *C*), Fufius (miswritten *Furius*, and *C* for *L*), Aquilius (*M* for *M'*) in c. 66 q.v.

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 9, 10

But the evidence for *Quintus Catullus* is none of it of the best, and Quintus is probably due to a confusion with *Q. Catulus*. See Ellis, *Comm. on Cat.*, pp. lx–lxiii, and more especially Munro, *Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus*, pp. 68–9.

6. **Ticidas** was a contemporary of Catullus and one of the Alexandrian school of poets. He is mentioned by Ovid in his list of erotic poets, *Tr.* ii. 433 *quid referam Ticide, quid Memmi carmen apud quos / rebus adest nomen nominibusque pudor? . . . et quorum libris modo dissimulata Perillae / nomine, nunc legitur dicta Metella suo*. Suetonius (*de Gramm.* 11) gives the name as Tida, Priscian (*Gramm.* Lat. ii, p. 189. 2) as Ticidas.

7. **Propertius** loved Hostia, a meretrix, for whom, however, he claims distinguished descent. *Cp.* iii. 20. 8 *splendidaque a docto fama refulget auro*. It has been suggested on the strength of this passage in Propertius, and of the statements of Schol. *Juv.* vi. 7 and Apuleius, that she may have been descended from the poet Hostius, who flourished in the second half of the second century B.C. and wrote an epic on the Illyrian war of 178 B.C.

8. **Tibullus** sings his love for Delia in the first book of his elegies. The present passage is the sole authority for her true name. δῆλος is the Greek translation of *planus*, hence *Delia* for *Plania*. The Planii were probably a plebeian family. Their name is otherwise almost unknown.

Note that in all the cases of pseudonyms cited by Apuleius the real name and the false scan alike. This was the regular practice; *cp.* Bentley on *Hor. Od.* ii. 12. 13.

9. **iambicus** = 'a satirist'. There is no reference to the metre, which in this case is hexameter. *Cp.* Diomedes, p. 485 *Keil iambus est carmen maledicum plerumque trimetro uersu et epodo sequente compositum . . . apud Romanos Lucilius et Catullus et Horatius et Bibaculus*.

10. **Gentium et Macedonem**. Two fragments survive in which their names are mentioned: *nunc praetor tuus est: meus si discesserit horto / Gentius and hic est Macedo si Agrion longius flaccet*, *Marx. Lucil.* 272–5; *Baehrens, Fr. poet. Rom.*, p. 168.

11. **directis nominibus** = 'under their actual names'. *directus* is the opposite of *obliquus*, which in post-Augustan Latin is used of 'covertly hinting', e.g. *Suet. Dom.* 2 and (with the adv.) *Tac. Ann.* v. 2.

12. **Mantuanus**. *Sc. Verg. Ecl.* ii and v. 86. *Cp. Introd.*, p. liii.

itidem ut. The phrase is common in the comic poets. In Cicero *itidem* is used absolutely. The phrase reappears in c. 26.

13. **Pollionis**. Gaius Asinius Pollio (76 B.C. to A.D. 5), one of the most distinguished men of letters of the Augustan age and the patron of Vergil.

abstinere nomen. An imitation of the Greek genitive with

ἀπέχεσθαι : cp. Hor. Od. iii. 27. 69 *abstineto irarum*. Similar Greek genitives of separation in Apuleius are 90 *si me omnium abunde purgaui*; Flor. 14 *uerum nudus et liber omnium*; Met. v. 2 *corporis sui nuda*.

14. *Corydonem . . . Alexin*. Verg. Ecl. ii. 1 *formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexim*. Cp. Serv. ad loc. *Alexim dicunt Alexandrum, qui fuit seruus Asinii Pollionis, quem Vergilius rogatus ad prandium cum uidisset in ministerio omnium pulcerrimum, dilexit eumque dono accepit*.

15. *Vergilianos*. Fφ read *Virgilianos*, but in Flor. 3 both give *Vergilianos*. In Apol. 30 φ reads *Virgilium* and *F Vergilium* with an *i* written over the *e* by the same hand. The spelling with the *e* is the older. In the Postscript to Georg. iv both codd. Med. and Rom. read *Vergilium*.

16. *busequas*. The word is post-classical. Cp. Met. viii. 1; D. Socr. 5; Flor. 3 *nihil aliud plerique callebant quam Vergilianus upilio seu busequa*. Cp. also Sidon. Ep. i. 6. 3 *inter busequas rusticanos subulcosque ronchantes*.

17. *Serranis*. Serranus was the cognomen of C. Atilius Regulus, cos. 257 B. C. It was generally supposed in antiquity to be derived from the verb *serere*, and to commemorate the fact that Regulus was engaged in sowing his fields when the news reached him that he had been made consul; cp. Verg. Aen. vi. 844. But the name is probably derived from Saranum, a town of Umbria; cp. C. I. L. i. 549 SEX. ATILIVS M. F. SARANVS. He was distinguished as an admiral in the first Punic war. He is not to be confused with M. Atilius Regulus, cos. 267 and 256 B. C., the more famous general who perished at Carthage. Cp. c. 88 *Quintis et Serranis*.

Curiis. The reference is to M. Curius Dentatus, thrice consul (290, 275, 274 B. C.), the conqueror of Pyrrhus, and famous for the simplicity of his life.

Fabriciis. C. Fabricius Luscinus, cos. 282 and 278 B. C. He also distinguished himself in the war against Pyrrhus. These three great soldiers are selected as types of Roman virtue and simplicity. Cp. Verg. Aen. vi. 844; Hor. Od. i. 12. 41.

18. *id genus uorsus*. Cp. note on c. 3 *rabulis id genus*.

Platonico. In the titles in *F* and φ Apuleius is styled Apuleius Platonicus. For his claims to the title see Introd., p. xxv.

19. *Platonis exemplo*. A number of erotic epigrams attributed to Plato have been preserved by Diogenes Laertius iii. 29 sqq. He is said to have written poetry when young, but to have abandoned it for philosophy (Diog. Laert. iii. 5). Thirty-two epigrams, said to be by Plato, are preserved in the Palatine Anthology, while another is quoted by Olympiodorus in his life of Plato. Of these one is by Plato the comedian, and three on account of their marked inferiority are attributed to an otherwise unknown Plato Junior. The rest were certainly believed to be by the philosopher. Cp. The Garland

of Meleager, l. 47 *ναὶ μὲν καὶ χρύσειον αἰεὶ θείοιο Πλάτωνος / κλῶνα τὸν ἐξ ἀρετῆς πάντοθι λαμπόμενον*. But many are palpably of later date. There seems, however, no special reason to doubt the authenticity of the epigrams cited by Apuleius. See Bergk, *Lyr. Gr.* ii, pp. 295-9.

20. *elegia*. The word is usually a feminine singular, but here it is neuter plural, as in Auson. Parent. xxix. 2 *accipe questus / debent quos cineri maesta elegia tuo*. Ausonius also uses it in the singular *elegion* (Epigr. xciv. 2).

21. *igni deussit*. Cp. note on *crebris flagitationibus prouocavi*, c. 1.

22. *uorsus*. *Fφ* give *uersus*. We have restored *uorsus* for the sake of uniformity with *uorsus*, c. 9 ad init. See note.

uorsus Platonis. The only verses cited in *Fφ* are those given in the text. In the early editions (e.g. the ed. princeps, Rome 1469, and in cod. Urb. 199, late fifteenth century) (1) Ἀστὴρ πρὶν μὲν ἔλαμψες is preceded by the well-known epigram preceding it in the Anth. Pal. vii. 669 ἀστέρας εἰσαθρεῖς, ἀστὴρ ἐμός· εἴθε γενοίμην / οὐρανὸς ὥς πολλοῖς ὄμμασιν εἰς σέ βλέπω (cp. Diog. Laert. iii. 29); while (2) ὃ ἐμὸν ἐκμήνας is preceded by κείσαι δ' εὐρυχόρῳ ἐν πατρίδι τίμιος ἀστοῖς (Anth. Pal. vii. 99). Of all these quotations Latin translations are found in the early editions and in cod. Urb. and cod. Dorvillianus (in a later hand). They run as follows: (1) *Astra uides, utinam fiam, mi sidus, Olympus / ut multis sic te luminibus uideam*. (2) *Lucifer ante meus rutilans mortalibus aster / Hesperus a fato manibus ecce nites*. (3) *Dixerit hic tantum cum nil nisi 'pulcher Alexis', / extitit et uertunt quilibet in te oculos. / cur, anime, os monstras canibus afficisque dolore / postmodo? non Phaedrum sic prius amisimus?* (4) *Ciuiibus in patria ingenti laudate iaces nunc / qui insanum me animi reddis amore, Dion*. The translations are palpably very late and are negligible, though Stadtmüller in his edition of the Anth. Graec. (ii, pp. 461-2) apparently accepts the translations of the first two as genuinely Apuleian. The additional citations in the Greek probably crept in from marginal annotations. The additional line from the epitaph of Dion is wholly out of place here.

si tamen = 'if at least'. Cp. Ov. Met. iv. 537 *si tamen in medio quondam concreta profundo / spuma fui*.

24. ἀστὴρ πρὶν μὲν κτλ. Anth. Pal. vii. 670. Diog. Laert. iii. 29, citing this epigram and Anth. Pal. vii. 669 (cited above), says: Ἀρίστιππος δ' ἐν τῷ δ' περὶ παλαιάς τρυφῆς φησιν αὐτὸν Ἀστέρος μειρακίου τινὸς ἀστρολογεῖν συνασκουμένον ἐρασθῆναι . . . δηλοῦν δὲ τὸν ἔρωτα τάδε τὰ ἐπιγράμματα αἰ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι. The lines have been beautifully translated by Shelley: 'Thou wast the morning star among the living, / Ere thy fair light had fled;— / Now having died, thou art as Hesperus giving / New light unto the dead.'

28. νῦν δ' ὅτε μηδὲν κτλ. Anth. Pal. vii. 100, wrongly placed

among the epitaphs: it is obviously erotic. Diog. Laert. iii. 31 cites this epigram with the reading *pās tis ἐπιστρέφεται*.

33. *si dixero*. For *si* put with idiomatic modesty for *simul atque* cp. Cic. Phil. xiv. 2. 6 *ad litteras ueniam si pauca ante dixero*; Verg. Aen. v. 64; Cat. xiv. 17. So too in Greek see Aesch. Pers. 357.

ὦ ἔμὸν ἐκμήνας κτλ. From A. P. vii. 99 Δάκρυα μὲν Ἑκάβη τε καὶ Ἰλιάδεσσι γυναιξὶ / Μοῖραι ἐπέκλωσαν δὴ τότε γεινομέναις / σοὶ δέ, Δίῳ, ῥέξαντι καλῶν ἐπινίκιον ἔργων / δαίμονες εὐρείας ἐλπίδας ἐξέχεαν. / κείσαι δ' εὐρυχόρῳ ἐν πατρίδι τίμιος ἄστοις / ὦ ἔμὸν κτλ. Cp. Diog. Laert. iii. 30, who cites the epigram, adding τοῦτο καὶ ἐπιγεγράφθαι φασὶν ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐπὶ τῇ τάφῳ.

34. *Dion*. The well-known philosopher and friend of Plato. He was brother-in-law and son-in-law of Dionysius II, tyrant of Syracuse, and was himself tyrant for a brief space. He was murdered in 354 B. C.

CHAPTER II

1. *qui haec etiam in iudicio? . . . qui etiam haec in accusatione?* For omission of verb of saying cp. c. 44 *et quid ego de seruis?* Flor. 16 *sed de hoc tum ego perfectius cum uos effectius*.

3. *Catullum*. Sc. xvi. 5, 6. This plea is also urged by Ovid (Tr. ii. 354), Pliny the younger (Ep. iv. 14), Martial (i. 4. 8). It was probably not wholly insincere. Obscenity was a bad literary tradition at Rome and must not be taken too seriously. Cp. also Ausonius, Cent. Nupt. ad fin. *meminerint autem esse Apuleium in uita philosophum in epigrammatis amatorem*.

7. *Diuus Adrianus*. Cp. Spartian. Hadr. 14. Hadrian died in July, A. D. 138.

Voconii amici. There is no mention of this writer elsewhere. He can hardly be identified with Voconius Romanus, the fellow student of Pliny the younger (Ep. i. 5; ii. 13; iii. 13; ad T. 4), who must have been some fifteen years older than Hadrian, and who is not mentioned after Bk. III of the letters (A. D. 101) and the fourth letter to Trajan (A. D. 99-101).

8. *muneraretur*. Here deponent. The pseudo-Apuleius, on the other hand, uses *munerari* and *munerati sunt* as passive in Ascl. 11. So too Apuleius has *nutricata est* (deponent) in Apol. 18, while the pseudo-Apuleius has *nutricat* (active) in Ascl. 36.

10. *argumentum . . . habenda*. Instead of the predicative nominative, the ablative with *pro* or the dative of predication might have been expected. But cp. Liv. iii. 55; viii. 30 *litterae . . . argumentum fuere*; Sen. Ep. 74. 14 *argumentum est*; Apol. 34 *tam ridiculum argumentum fore desiderata marina*.

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 10-12

11-18. *multa id genus . . . id genus omnia*. See note on c. 3 *rabulis id genus*.

12. *censor*. The censorship was never held by Hadrian. This passage, at least, is the only evidence that would support such a view, and considering the silence of the inscriptions it would be absurd to insist on a literal interpretation of the words of Apuleius. Domitian had made himself *censor perpetuus* (Dio Cass. lxvii. 4), but his successors let the office lapse. Trajan was offered it, but refused it (Plin. Pan. 45). The powers of the censor from the time of Domitian onward were, however, all held by the *princeps*, apparently *ex officio* without any further enactment (cp. Greenidge, Roman Public Life, p. 347). Apuleius' language, therefore, although it is the language of flattery and not literally correct, is not seriously inaccurate. He wishes to speak of Hadrian as the guardian of public morals and therefore calls him censor. As a matter of fact Hadrian's private morals were far from edifying. But it is natural that Apuleius should speak of him in terms of flattery. He had been a popular emperor and was the adoptive father of the reigning *princeps*.

17. *namque*. In Plautus and Terence used seldom, and only before vowels; in Sallust and Livy impartially before vowels and consonants; in Tacitus more often before vowels; in Apuleius twenty-two times before vowels, eight before consonants, when first word in the sentence. Apuleius also uses it nineteen times after the first place. In ante-classical Latin it always occupies the first place, while Livy is the only Augustan who commonly puts it second. See Dräger, ii, p. 162.

20. *distributa*. The plural is used with two singular nouns taken separately; cp. c. 20 *cernuntur*.

CHAPTER 12

2. *rarissimo cuique piorum ignara*, 'of which few or none among the pious are ignorant'. For this use of *rarissimus quisque* cp. Tac. Hist. ii. 84 *ceteri conferendarum pecuniarum exemplum secuti, rarissimus quisque eandem in recipiendo licentiam habuerunt*.

ignara. For this use of *ignarus* = 'unknown' see Gellius, ix. 12. 20 *ignarus aequè utroque uersum dicitur non tantum qui ignorat, sed et qui ignoratur*; Sall. Hist. fr. i. 193 *more humanae cupidinis ignara uisendi*; Verg. Aen. x. 706 *ignarum Laurens habet ora Mimanta*. The usage is poetic, and is hardly found in prose till post-Augustan times. While Helm has succeeded (Philol., p. 558) in showing that *ignara*, the reading of *Fϕ*, is possible, it must be pointed out that the commonly accepted *gnara* (codd. Urb. and Dorvill.) has much to be said for it. Tr. 'known only to a select few among the pious'. This gives a stronger antithesis, for

it makes Apuleius say that it is an esoteric doctrine of which he is going to speak rather than that what he is going to speak about is 'the religion of all good men'. On this view cp. Flor. i *paucis percontantibus adorata, tamen ignorantibus transcurra*.

3. *geminam esse Venerem deam*. For the doctrine of *Aphrodite Urania* and *Aphrodite Pandemos* cp. Plat. Sympos. 180 D. The allusion has special point when the functions of the Eros sprung from Aphrodite Urania are considered. Cp. 181 C ὁ δὲ τῆς Οὐρανίας (sc. Ἔρως) πρῶτον μὲν οὐ μετεχούσης θήλεος, ἀλλ' ἄρρενος μόνον—καὶ ἔστιν οὗτος ὁ τῶν παίδων ἔρως—ἔπειτα πρεσβυτέρας, ὑβρεως ἀμοίρου, ὅθεν δὴ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρρεν τρέπονται οἱ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐπίπνοι.

geminam deam . . . quamque . . . pollentis. *quamque* is used for *utramque* as frequently (e. g. Liv. ii. 7. 1); the plural of the participle is used as though *geminas deas* (a pair of goddesses) and not *geminam deam* (a twofold goddess) had preceded.

5. *uulgariam*. Ante- and post-classical for the classical *uolaris*.

6. *pecuinis*. Cato is the only other author besides Apuleius who uses the word. The phrase recurs in Met. xi. i *nec tantum pecuina et ferina*. Cp. also c. 7 *feris et pecudibus*, note.

7. *ui immodica*. Rohde's certain correction of *ut immodica* Ff. The vulgate *ut immodico* is palpably inferior.

9. *praedita quae sit optimati amore*. For *praedita* Ff give *praeditam*. Pricaeus' correction *praedita* is exceedingly simple, though the order of the words is unnatural (cp. above *quae sit percita populari amore*). Purser (Hermath. xiv, No. 33, p. 365) suggests *praeditam quasi optimati amore*. 'optimas strictly has only a political significance . . . and requires some kind of apology for its metaphorical usage.' This may well be right, but *praedita* is retained as involving rather less change. Helm suggests *praedicatam, quae sit, etc.*, supplying *percita* from *quae sit percita* above. The distance between the sentences is, however, too great. Pricaeus reads *praedita quae sit optimati amori*, treating *praedita* as = 'set over', for which cp. D. Socr. 15 *praediti fanis et caerimoniis*; 16 *eundem illum qui nobis praeditus fuit*; Fronto, de Eloq. (p. 146 Nab.) *Mercurius nuntiis praeditus*; M. Aurel. ad Front. iii. 9 *deus ei rei praeditus*. The change, though possible, is not necessary. *praedita* = 'endowed' is perfectly satisfactory.

10. *solis hominibus . . . curare*. Cp. Apol. 36 *usque adeo meis rebus curat*; de Mund. 30 *ordinibus principes curant*; D. Socr. 2 ad fin. *quibus eorum singuli curant*; ib. 6 and 16. *curo* is thus used with the dative in comedy; cp. Plaut. Rud. 146, 182; Trin. 1057; Truc. 137; Mil. 482. Cp. Apuleius' use of *procuro* with dat. de Plat. ii. 9. 232 *utilitati animae procurat*, a construction found in Plautus.

14. *conciliare* = *commendare*; cp. Ov. Tr. iii. 11. 42 *et dictis artes conciliasse suas*.

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 12, 13

17. **ammoneant** ϕ . *F* reads *commoneant*. The first two letters have, however, been written in by a more recent hand. There is no direct evidence as to the original reading, which is wholly illegible. The evidence of ϕ makes it, however, more than probable that *ammoneant* was the original reading.

quam prius ueram et sinceram inter deos uidere. For the doctrine of ἀνάμνησις (cp. *recordatur* below) cp. Plato, *Meno* 81, and more especially *Phaedo* 76.

18. **etsi pereleganter** is Krüger's emendation of *et semper eleganter F* ϕ . He further reads *reliquit* (cod. Tol.); though the tense of *relinquat F* ϕ is a little awkward, the sense is clear, and *reliquit* is a little violent as a remedy. The alternative is to read *ut semper* with codd. Urb. and Tol. This reading is adopted by Helm, who quotes (Pref. to *Florida*, p. xxiii) Cic. *Brut.* 22. 86 *causam pro publicanis accurate, ut semper solitus esset, eleganterque dixisse Laelium*. But though Apuleius might well have said 'Wherefore I would have you hear what Afranius says', the phrase 'Wherefore let Afranius with his usual elegance leave this apophthegm on record' is almost impossibly harsh. Reading *etsi pereleganter* the sense is excellent, 'Although Afranius' words are singularly apt, they yet require slight modification to bring them into line with the Platonic doctrine of ἀνάμνησις.'

19. **Afranius.** The most famous writer of purely Roman comedy (*togatae*); *floruit circ. 110 B.C.*

amabit sapiens, cupient ceteri. See v. 221, *Sc. Rom. poes.* fragm. (Ribbeck ii, p. 228); *Non.* 421. 19; *Serv. Aen.* iv. 194. Cp. also Afranius (Ribbeck, op. cit., p. 198, v. 24) *alius est Amor, alius Cupido*.

20. **si uerum uelis.** Cp. 52 *immo enim si uerum uelis*; 88 *immo si uerum uelis*; 98 *si per uerum uelis* (but see note ad loc.).

CHAPTER 13

2. **contra sententiam Neoptolemi Enniani pluribus philosophari.** Cp. Cic. de Or. ii. 156 *ac sic decreui philosophari potius ut Neoptolemus apud Ennium 'paucis; nam omnino haud placet'*; de Rep. i. 18. 30; *Tusc.* ii. 1. 1; *Gell.* v. 15 and 16. Ribbeck restores the whole line *philosophari mihi necesse paucis, nam omnino haud placet*, R. P. F. i, p. 73 (v. 340).

6. **cum . . . audis.** For this indicative with which *cum* = *quod* cp. Plaut. *Capt.* 923 *Ioui disque ago gratias . . . quom te . . . reddiderunt*; Ter. *Andr.* 771 *dis pol habeo gratiam quom . . . adfuerunt*; Cic. *Fam.* xiii. 24. 2 *tibi maximas gratias ago quom tantum litterae meae potuerunt*. The use is ante-classical and colloquial after verbs of thanks, praise, etc. Cp. note on c. 27 *gratulor igitur . . . cum . . . adnumeror*.

8. **peto . . . audias.** Cp. Met. vi. 16 *petit de te Venus modicum de tua mittas ei formonsitate.* For the jussive subjunctive in quasi-dependence see on c. 61 *praesto adesset denuntiaveritis.*

11. **de speculo.** It is vanity unfitting a philosopher and not catoptromancy of which Apuleius is here accused. Abt (p. 99) can only adduce two examples of the use of a mirror in magic from classical literature, viz. Paus. vii. 21. 12, where it is combined with a magic well, and Spartan. uita Didii Iul. vii. 9, where the process is like crystal-gazing: *et ea quae ad speculum dicunt fieri, in quo pueri praeligatis oculis incantato uertice respicere dicuntur.* Mirrors have, however, played a great part in the magic of later times; they figure in the story of Cambuscan and other mediaeval legends; they have been in vogue among peoples as different as the Dyaks and Incas. For mediaeval and modern examples of catoptromancy see Hartland, Legend of Perseus, ii. 13-24; Comparetti, Vergil in the Middle Ages (Trans. Benecke, p. 303 sqq.).

12. **Pudens. Sc. Tannonius.**

13. **habet . . . possidet.** The distinction between the words is drawn thus in the treatise ascribed to Fronto de Diff. (Maius ii. 472) *habere potest etiam fur nequam. possidet nemo, nisi qui aut testamento relictæ aut donatæ rei aut emptæ dominus est. ita in habente onus; in possidente ius est.* Plin. Ep. i. 16. 1 *has me tenet habet possidet, a legal formula.*

habet speculum philosophus. It is probable that the mirror was mentioned by his accusers in connexion with their charges of effeminacy and immorality. Apuleius prides himself on his good looks, they say, and adorns himself before a mirror that he may be successful in his love-affairs. For a somewhat similar gibe against philosophers cp. Sen. N. Q. i. 17 *derideantur nunc philosophi quod de speculi natura disserant.* For the mirror as a mark of effeminacy cp. Juv. ii. 99 *ille tenet speculum pathici gestamen Othonis.* Above all compare the gibe at the Cynic in Lucian, Pisc. 45 Φιλ. οἱ ὑπὲρταί ἀνέλεσθε τὴν πῆραν ἣν ὁ Κυνίσκος ἀπέρριψεν ἐν τῇ τροπῇ. φέρ' ἰδῶ τί καὶ ἀπέρριψεν ἐν τῇ τροπῇ. φέρ' ἰδῶ τί καὶ ἔχει, ἥ που θέρμους ἢ βυβλίον ἢ ἄρτους τῶν αὐτοπυριτῶν; Παρρ. οὐκ, ἀλλὰ χρυσίον παντὶ καὶ μύρον καὶ κάτοπτρον καὶ κύβους.

14. **ut igitur habere concedam.** For the omission of the subject of the infinitive cp. note on c. 53 *sunt quae fatearis nescire*, and on c. 2 *pollicitus ita facturum.*

15. **accipi = 'to be inferred'.** The use of the infinitive with *accipior* is not paralleled. The direct would have been *accipior exornari solere.* See Dräger, ii. 452.

17. **choragium.** The Doric form of χορήγιον. The word here is used with the literal meaning of the equipment or wardrobe of a theatrical company; cp. Paul. Fest., p. 52 = *instrumentum*

COMMENTARY: CHAPTER 13

scenarum; Plaut. Capt. 61 *comico choragio*. Apuleius uses it elsewhere more generally of any elaborate preparation: Met. ii. 20 *in ipso momento choragi funebris*; iv. 33 *iam feralium nuptiarum miserrimae uirgini choragium struitur*.

thymelicum. From θυμέλη, the altar in the orchestra of the Greek theatre. Here its meaning is extended to the whole theatre = *scenicus*. The word is common in this sense in Plutarch.

18. **syrmate.** σύρμα from σύρειν, to trail = the trailing robe of tragedy, worn to give height to the figure.

histrionis. Although originally the word *histrion* includes all classes of actors, in later times it is used rather of the *pantomimi*, the dancers of the *salticae fabulae*. Cp. Flor. 18 *minus hallucinatur, comoedus sermocinatur, tragoedus uociferatur . . . histrio gesticulatur*; Sueton. Cal. 54 *quo minus et tragoedo pronuntianti concineret et gestum histrionis palam effingeret*.

19. **crocota.** Sc. *ueste*: from κροκωτός, saffron-coloured; a robe worn by women (cp. Ar. Thesm. 138, 253) and by effeminate men such as the *pantomimi* (cp. Araros, Καὶν. I παρθένος δ' εἶναι δοκεῖ] φορῶν κροκωτούς).

orgia is meaningless, and no satisfactory emendation has been suggested. The least unsatisfactory suggestions are Helm's *orchestae serica* (cp. Luc. de salt. 63 ἐσθῆτι Σηρικῇ), Haupt's *archimimi* for *orgia mimi*, and Purser's *crocota Phrygia*, for which he compares Met. xi. 8 *crocotisque Phrygiis*. *Frigia* might easily have been corrupted into *orgia*, but, as Purser himself admits (Hermath. xiv, No. 33, p. 366), spoils the balance of the sentence. There is no indication as to how *orgia* crept into the text, if it is an interpolation and not a corruption. Purser suggests that it was a gloss on the rare word *mundum* (*Cereris*) at the end of the chapter and that it got displaced. Helm also suggests that it is a corruption of a marginal note *choragia*. This is perhaps more probable. *uel ad trieterica orgia* (cod. Urb.), once widely accepted, is meaningless.

[Mr. Bywater suggests to us *tragici syrmate histrionis, crocota orgiastae*. This is very close to the MSS. For *crocota orgiastae* cp. Met. viii. 27, where the priests of the dea Syria wear *crocotae*. But the *orgiastes* seems rather out of place in this context.]

centunculo. The diminutive of *cento*. The meaning is a patchwork robe of many colours, the origin perhaps of our harlequin's suit. The present seems, however, to be the only passage in which it is mentioned in connexion with the dress of a *minus*. Such a dress is perhaps represented in Brizio's Tombe dipinte di Corneto, Rome, 1874, p. 6. See Daremberg et Saglio, ii, p. 1013.

non opinor = 'I think not'. Cp. Cic. Phil. ii. 18. 43 *sic opinor*, 'I think so'; Plaut. Most. 798 *haud opinor*.

20. **possessu.** ἀπ. λεγ.

APVLEI APOLOGIA

23. *docear* *F*φ, i.e. 'I am ignorant of what I am supposed to have done and require to be instructed'. *docear* is clearly not impossible and we have therefore retained it. But *doceas*, the reading of a later hand in *F*, is more obvious and natural and may well be right; cp. 20 ad fin. *doceas necesse est*. Moreover, *s* and *r* are not infrequently confused in *F*.

25. *Cereris mundum*. *mundus* is probably originally derived from the root *mu*, 'to defend'. The substantive originally means a circle or enclosure; cp. the *mundus* or enclosure sacred to Dis and Proserpine, mentioned by Macrobius, S. i. 16. 17. Here, perhaps from its use = 'enclosure', we get it employed in the sense of what is contained in the enclosure, especially in the sense of a woman's toilet equipment. Dig. xxxiv. 2. 25. 10 *mundus muliebris est quo mulier mundior fit; continentur eo specula uasa unguentaria, etc.* Here it is applied to the sacred emblems of Ceres as revealed in the mysteries. There need be no specific reference to the *cista mystica*, a circular basket containing sacred cakes. Clem. Alex. Protrept. 21 sqq. The word is rare, but a favourite with Apuleius. Cp. Met. ii. 9; iv. 33; vi. 1; xi. 8.

CHAPTER 14

2. *conditam*. In strict logic some such word as *seruare* is required to govern *conditam*. But there is no need with Kronenberg actually to insert *seruare*. Cp. c. 63 *conditum gestare*. The sense is clear, and it is not difficult to find parallels. Cp. Tac. Ann. i. 58. 2 *quia idem conducere et pacem quam bellum probabam, where iudicabam* has to be understood with *conducere*.

4. *aspectabilis*. The adjective ending in *-ilis* is used here with the signification 'worthy of being seen'. No other passage is quoted for the comparative.

homini nato. Cp. note on c. 8 *de homine nato*.

5. *similes*. Sc. *parentibus*; for the absolute use of the adjective cp. Hor. Od. iv. 5. 23 *laudantur simili prole puerperae*.

6. *et publicitus simulacrum suum, etc.* Statues take the place of pictures in the civilization of Greece and Rome. Statues were erected in considerable numbers to do Apuleius honour, if we may believe what he tells us in Flor. 16. Two statues had been promised him in Carthage, while *quae mihi ne in mediocribus ciuitatibus unquam defuere, ne ut Carthagini desint, etc.* (16 § 76) implies that others had been erected elsewhere. He is said by Augustine to have quarrelled with the inhabitants of Oea about the erection of a statue in his honour (Ep. cxxxviii. 19).

publicitus. Ante- and post-classical. The word appears frequently in the comic poets, Ennius, and Lucilius. After them apparently it is not used before the time of Gellius and Apuleius, who uses it frequently; cp. Met. vi. 7 *publicitus edicere*.

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 13, 14

8. *effigiatae*. Post-classical. Apuleius has the word in two other passages. Cp. Met. xi. 11 *urnula miris extrinsecus simulacris Aegyptiorum effigiata*; Flor. 1 *truncus dolamine effigiatus*.

9. *culpabile*. Not found before Apuleius, who uses it several times in the *de Plat.* (ii. 15, 19, 28). In later Latin the word is very frequent.

10. *facilitas* = 'handiness'.

12. *diutino* may be right. Apuleius has a fondness for adverbs ending in -o, which in other writers appear with different terminations, e.g. *clanculo* for *clanculum*, *occulto* for *occulte*, *modico* for *modice*. See Koziol, p. 307.

14. *rigor* = 'solidity', i.e. painting is in the flat, sculpture in the round. Painting lacks 'tactile values' and sculpture colour, the mirror alone gives a perfect portrait. There is no exact parallel for this use of *rigor*. It is a development of its use in the sense of *durities*; cp. Verg. G. i. 143 *ferri rigor*.

15. *uisitur*. Leky defends the 'concessive' use of the indicative with *cum* (p. 50), quoting Ter. Phorm. 22 *de illo iam finem faciam dicundi mihi, | peccandi quom ipse de se finem non facit*. In the other passages which he quotes from Apuleius, the force of *cum* is made plainer by the presence of *tamen* (Apol. 31 *cum tamen . . . medicauit*; *de Mund.* 18 *cum tamen . . . retinent*). Helm, who would read *uisitetur*, objects that in *cum tamen . . . medicauit* (c. 31) the *cum tamen* has no such force, but picks up the *cum* of *cum . . . memorauit* which has preceded. This argument does not, however, apply to the passage cited from the *de Mundo*.

17. *morigera*. The adjective is ante- and post-classical, being found several times in Plautus. Like the verb *morigerari*, it ordinarily takes the dative. The word appears also in Met. ii. 5 *tunc minus morigeros et uilis . . . reformat*; Apol. 74 *emasculatoribus ad omnia infanda morigerus*. This last passage suggests that *ad omnem nutum* does not here take the place of the ordinary dative.

18. *ad obeuntem senectam*. See note on c. 9 *pro implexis . . . complexum*. The phrase here does not seem very natural. The verb *obeo* is applied to the man who sinks or dies rather than to his old age which is the sinking. The phrase has been used here to secure a complete antithesis to *ineunte pueritia*.

19. *participat*. Cp. note on c. 24 *participare curiam*.

21. *infusum . . . incusum . . . inustum*, 'all we cast in bronze or carve in stone or tint with encaustic pigment', is somewhat unusual. The normal verb to express casting in metal is simply *fundere*. Here, however, the compound *infusum* is used for the sake of alliteration, being followed by *incussum*, *inustum*, *inlitum*. *incussum*, the reading of F, is without parallel in this sense, with the possible exception of Verg. G. i. 275, where some of the best MSS. read *incussum*; there, as here, *incusum* is usually and rightly

read. (Ribbeck, however, retains *incussum* in G. i. 275.) It is hard to see how *incussum* could yield the required sense.

cera inustum. This 'encaustic process' appears to have held the place of our oil painting. It seems to have consisted in painting with molten wax. The wax was probably either applied on a heated surface or applied to a cold surface after melting over a fire. See Laurie, Greek and Roman Painting, pp. 51 sqq. Cp. Plin. xxxv. 149 *encausto pingendi duo fuisse antiquitus genera constat, cera, et in ebore cestro, id est uiriculo, donec classes pingi coepere. hoc tertium accessit, resolutis igni ceris penicillo utendi, quae pictura in nauibus nec sole nec sale uentisque corrumpitur.* The only surviving examples of this method are to be found in mummy-cases painted in the Greek style.

25. artibus ad imaginis similitudinem is Pricaeus' correction of the reading of *Fφ imaginis artibus ad similitudinem*. Purser suggests that *imaginis* = *imagineis* may have been employed, just as in c. 41 *Fφ* give *mediterranis* for the more normal *mediterraneis*, and compares Lucr. iv. 76 *ferrugina*. As an alternative, if we preserve the MSS. order, we may read *imagineis* with Colvius. Cp. Ven. Fort. Vit. S. Marc. ii. 276 *figurae imagineae*; Sedul. i. 187. But the only examples of this word are very late, and *imagineis* is found nowhere. It is therefore safer to adopt the simple transposition suggested by Pricaeus.

ad similitudinem referundam is Pricaeus' emendation for *ad s. referundum*, the reading of *Fφ*. It is usual to compare for this reading Liv. xl. 49. 1 *ad depopulandum Celtiberiam*; Suet. Claud. 26 *ad ducendum uxorem*; Aur. Vict. de vir. illustr. 10 *ad recipiendum in urbem Tarquinius* (cp. also Apul. de Pl. ii. 4 *ad fruendum potiendumque haustus inexplebiles*). But in all these cases the gerund precedes. We cannot compare c. 69 *ualetudinem medicandum*, where there is no preposition. Confusion between *a* and *u* is very frequent in the text of the Apologia. Cp. 4 *aspernunda*; 15 *ueris*; 43 *intersitus*; 45, 59 *num*, etc., where *Fφ* read *u* wrongly for *a*. See Helm, Phil., l. c., p. 561.

26. splendor opifex. For the appositional use of a substantive in place of an adjective, very frequent in Apuleius, see Koziol, pp. 257-9. Cp. Cic. Brut. 96 *artifex, ut ita dicam, stilus*.

CHAPTER 15

1. Hagesilai. The greatest of the Spartan kings, 440-360 B.C. The name is spelt with the aspirate consistently in the cod. Dan. of Nepos. It is derived from ἡγείσθαι, and the spelling is proved by Lacedaemonian inscriptions. Blass quotes *ἡγισίλα*, *ἡγιστρατος* from inscriptions and from the papyrus of Alcman *Ἀγισιχόρα* (Kühner-Blass, Gr. Gram. i. 1. 108). See Helm, Philol., p. 562. For a similar story about Alexander cp. Florida, 7.

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 14, 15

2. *neque pingi neque fingi*. Cicero uses the same combination of words when speaking of Agesilaus. Cic. Fam. v. 12. 7 *nec minus enim est Spartiatus Agesilaus ille perhibendus qui neque pictam neque fictam imaginem suam passus est esse, quam qui in eo genere laborauerunt*. Cp. also Plaut. Asin. 174 *neque fictum usquamst neque pictum neque scriptum in poematis*; Poen. 221 *poliri, expoliri, pingi, fingi*; Macr. S. v. 17. 5 *pictores fictoresque*. Among other examples from Apuleius of similar assonances, where only the initial consonant is changed, cp. 102 *o graue ueneficium dicam an ingratum beneficium*; Met. vi. 2 *demeacula et remeacula*; x. 31 *quod caelo demeatur, quod mari remeatur*; xi. 7 *nudo sudoque* (cp. Apol. 16 *uel uda uel suda*); 25 *nec dies nec quies*. See Koziol, p. 204.

7. *formam suam . . . explorare*. Cp. Met. v. 11 *ut te suadeant meos explorare uultus*.

spectaculo. There seems no exact parallel for this use of *spectaculum* = 'looking', though the use is intelligible enough.

8. *Socrates*. Cp. Diog. Laert. ii. 33 ἡξίου δὲ καὶ τοῖς νέους συνεχὲς κατοπτρίζεσθαι, ἵν' εἰ μὲν καλοὶ εἶεν ἄξιοι γίγνοιτο· εἰ δ' αἰσχροὶ, παιδείᾳ τὴν δυσείδειαν ἐπικαλύπτοιεν. Cp. also the advice of the father to his son and daughter in Phaedrus iii. 8. 14-16 *quotidie, inquit, speculo uos uti uolo: / tu formam ne corrumpas nequitiae malis, / tu faciem ut istam moribus uincas bonis*.

11. *sibi complacitus*. The word *complaceo* (with perfects *complacui* and *complacitus sum*) is ante- and post-classical. Apuleius uses it again in Met. iv. 32 *et quamuis gentibus totis complacitam odit in se suam formonsitatem*; v. 9 *hocine tibi complacuit?*

impendio procuraret. Cp. Plaut. Aul. 18 *impendio curare*. See note on *impedio*, c. 3.

13. *ut uirtutis laude turpitudinem tegerent*. Cp. Sen. N. Q. i. 17. 4 *specula inuenta sunt ut homo se ipse nosset, multa ex his consecuturus, primo sui notitiam, mox consilium quoddam; formosus ut uitaret infamiam . . . , deformis ut sciret uirtutibus redimendum quidquid corpori deesset*.

17. *ante speculum*. Quintilian xi. 3. 68 records the same story. Cp. also Plutarch, Dem. xi. 1. For the importance attributed to *actio* by Demosthenes cp. Cic. de Or. iii. 56. 213; Brut. 142; Or. 56 *ut iam non sine causa Demosthenes tribuerit et primas et secundas et tertias actioni*.

18. *a Platone*. The first trace of this tradition is found in the testimony of Hermippus (end of third century B.C.) cited by Plutarch, Dem. v. Ἑρμιππος δὲ φησιν ἀδεσπότοις ὑπομνήμασιν ἐντυχεῖν, ἐν οἷς ἐγγράπτω τὸν Δημοσθένην συνεσχολακῆναι Πλάτωνι. To the same period belongs Mnesistratus of Thasos, quoted by Sabinus, and through him by Diog. Laert. iii. 46. Cicero appeals (Brut. 121) to a letter of Demosthenes, in which he acknowledges his debt to Plato. The letter is lost and was probably a forgery. Cp. Sandys'

note on Orator 15: 'In the fifth of the letters attributed to Demosthenes there is an indirect recognition of Plato's celebrity, but nothing more.'

19. ab Eubulide. A sophist of Miletus. Cp. Diog. Laert. ii. 108 τῆς δ' Εὐκλείδου διαδοχῆς ἐστὶ καὶ Εὐβουλίδης ὁ Μιλήσιος, ὃς καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν διαλεκτικῇ λόγους ἤρωτησε . . . περὶ τούτου φησὶ τις τῶν κωμικῶν οὐριστικός δ' Εὐβουλίδης κερατίνας ἐρωτῶν καὶ ψευδαλαζόσιν λόγοις τοὺς ῥήτορας κυλίων ἀπῆλθ' ἔχων Δημοσθένους τὴν ῥωποπερπερήθραν.

ἐφ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Δημοσθένους ἀκηκοέναι καὶ ῥωβικώτερος ὢν παύσασθαι. It is obvious that these lines from the comic poet prove little or nothing. They are perhaps the source from which the legend sprang. The tradition is recorded by other writers, e.g. Suidas, s. v. Δημοσθ. Philod. Rhet. ii. 209. 9.

20. congruentiam. The word is post-Augustan; it is used in Suet. Oth. 2, but there with the meaning of 'agreement'.

21. curam . . . suscipiendam. Helm quotes this passage as a parallel to his emendation of Met. vii. 6, where he substitutes *suscipiens* for the reading of the MSS. *sustinens*: *pro mariti salute peruigilem curam sustinens aerumnas adsiduas ingenio masculino sustinebat*. Cp. also Met. viii. 15 *qui me curandum magna ille quidem commendatione suscepserat*.

22. iurganti . . . obiurganti. For the simple and compound verb thus set side by side cp. c. 79 *quod in iudicio subscribitur quam quod in epistola scribitur*; 93 *suasi ac denique persuasi*; Flor. i *habenda oratio et inhibenda properatio*; 9 *magis reuerita est minus uerita* (cp. Apol. 103); de D. Socr. prol. i *noscitis simul et ignoscitis*.

25. de finibus. Apuleius plays on two meanings of the same word; see Introd., p. lvii.

26. nec = ne . . . quidem. This construction is not found before Cicero, and even in his writings has usually been emended. In poetry it is first used in Verg. Ecl. iii. 102 *his certe neque amor causa est* (see Conington, ad loc.). Livy and Quintilian have it frequently, and it appears in several places in Tacitus. It occurs nine times in this speech. See Dräger, ii. 71 sqq.; Hand, Tursell, iv. 105 sqq.

29. ut ait Epicurus. Apuleius cannot bring himself to repeat the same verb, if there is the least excuse for varying it. So we have immediately below in quick succession *ut Plato arbitratur, ut Archytas putat, ut Stoici rentur*.

Epicurus of Samos, born 342 B.C. For his views on vision, derived from Democritus, cp. Epicurea 320 (Usener), Diog. Laert. x. 46, Lucret. iv. 26-468. For an introduction to Greek theories of vision see Beare's Greek Theories of Elementary Cognition from Alcmaeon to Aristotle. Tr. 'Is Epicurus right when he asserts that images proceed forth from us, as it were a kind of slough that continually streams from our bodies? These images when they

strike anything smooth and solid are reflected by the shock and reversed in such wise as to give back an image turned to face its original.' Apuleius states the theory of Epicurus correctly. He is merely concerned to show why our bodies are reflected in a mirror. Our bodies, like everything else in the world, give forth a film or image (εἰδωλα Epicurus, *effigiae* or *simulacra* Lucretius, *exuviae* Apuleius) which causes vision by striking the eye.

30. *fluore*. The word, except as a medical term (= 'flux') in Celsus, does not appear before Apuleius, who uses it also in Flor. 10 *am-nium fluores*.

32. *contrauersim*. ἀπ. λεγ., but the word is regularly formed and Apuleius is fond of adverbs ending in *-im*. *contrauersum*, for which there is late MS. authority, is found in Ausonius and Solinus.

33. *alii philosophi ... radii nostri*. The fact that when the eye receives a stroke, a flash takes place within it, gave rise to the view that the eye contained within it a native fire on which the faculty of vision to some extent depended. Alcmaeon of Croton was the first philosopher to propound this view (cp. Stob. Ecl. Phys. i. 52; Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, p. 404; *Fragm. der Vorsokratiker*, p. 104).

mediis oculis. Cp. Plato, Tim. 45 B τὸ γὰρ ἐντὸς ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸν δὲν τοῦτου πῦρ εἰλικρινὲς ἐποίησαν διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων ῥεῖν λεῖον καὶ πικρὸν ὅλον μὲν, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ μέσον συμπιλήσαντες τῶν ὀμμάτων. In almost all early theories of vision the pupil of the eye is regarded as all-important. Of the retina and the functions of the lens the Greeks had no knowledge.

34. *proliquati*. ἀπ. λεγ.

lumini extrario. The outer light includes both the 'light reflected from external bodies' and 'that which is in the intervening air'; see Plutarch, below.

35. *Plato*. Plutarch (Plac. Philos. iv. 13) gives an accurate summary of Plato's views. Πλάτων κατὰ συναύγειαν, τοῦ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν φωτὸς ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἀπορρέοντος εἰς τὸν ὁμογενῆ ἀέρα, τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων φερομένου, τοῦ δὲ περὶ τὸν μεταξὺ ἀέρα εὐδιάχτον ὄντα καὶ εὐτρεπτον συνεκτεινομένου τῷ πυρῶδεϊ τῆς ὀψεως. αὕτη λέγεται Πλατωνικὴ συναύγεια. 'Plato held that seeing takes place in virtue of a coalescence between (a) the rays of the intra-ocular light emanating from the eyes to some distance into the kindred (i. e. illuminated) air; (b) that which, reflected from external bodies, moves to meet it; and (c) that which is in the intervening air, and which, owing to the diffusibility and nimbleness of the latter extends itself in lines parallel with the fiery current of vision.' Beare, op. cit., p. 45. For Plato's own statement see Timaeus 45 B-46 A. The union of these three 'fires' conveys the impression of the object to the soul.

sine ullo foris amminiculo. The adverb *foris* is used as

though it was an adjective. Cp. Tac. Ann. iv. 55. 8 *dites circum terras*; Dräger i. 131-2.

36. Archytas. Of Tarentum; a famous Pythagorean philosopher, who flourished in the first half of the fourth century B. C. Of his theory of vision we have no information beyond the present passage. Apuleius here attributes to him the theory that the rays issuing from the 'intra-ocular fire' do not need 'any external support' (*sine ullo foris amminiculo*), i.e. they do not need 'the assistance of the light reflected from external bodies' and 'that which is in the intervening air', but effect their purpose by simple contact with external objects. Little is known of Pythagorean views of vision. Diogenes Laertius (viii. 29) says that according to Pythagoras vision is produced by a hot vapour situated in the eyes (*ἄτμος θερμός*). It is probably to the Pythagorean doctrine that Theophrastus alludes (de Sens. § 5), when he says that the doctrine of Plato stands midway between those who assert that 'the visual current merely impinges upon the objects' and 'those who teach merely that something is conveyed to the eye from the objects seen', i.e. Democritus and the Epicureans. ὥσπερ ἂν εἰς τὸ μέσον τιθεῖς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δόξαν τῶν τε φασκόντων προσπίπτειν τὴν ὄψιν καὶ τῶν φέρεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρατῶν. See Beare, op. cit., p. 49. This view is supported by Plut. Plac. Phil. iv. 13; Stob. Ecl. i. 52 Ἰππαρχος ἀκτῖνάς φησιν ἀφ' ἑκατέρου τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀποτετινομένας τοῖς πέρασιν αὐτῶν οἷον χειρῶν ἐπαφαῖς περικαθαπτούσας τοῖς ἐκτὸς σώμασι τὴν ἀντίληψιν (*ἀπρῆρῃσησιονεμ*) αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ ὁρατικὸν ἀποδιδόναι. ἔνιοι καὶ Πυθαγόραν τῇ δόξῃ ταύτῃ συνεπιγράφουσιν. Cp. also the theory about mirrors attributed to the Pythagoreans in Plut. Plac. Phil. iv. 14 οἱ ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου κατ' ἀντανakλάσεις τῆς ὀψεως φέρεσθαι μὲν γὰρ τὴν ὄψιν τεταμένην ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν χαλκόν, ἐντυχοῦσαν δὲ πυκνῷ καὶ λείῳ πληχθεῖσαν ὑποστρέφειν αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτήν, ὁμοίον τι πάσχουσιν τῇ ἐκτάσει τῆς χειρὸς καὶ τῇ ἐπὶ τὸν ὄμῳ ἀντεπιστροφῇ. All these views harmonize with that attributed by Apuleius to Archytas.

seu . . . Stoici. The Stoic theory of vision is summarized in Plut. Plac. Phil. iv. 15 Χρύσιππος κατὰ τὴν συνέντασιν τοῦ μεταξὺ αἰέρος ὁρᾶν ἡμᾶς, νυγέντος μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁρατικοῦ πνεύματος, ὅπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ μέχρι τῆς κόρης διήκει, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸν περικείμενον αἶρα ἐπιβολὴν ἐντείνοντος αὐτὸν κωνοειδῶς, ὅταν ἡ ὁμογενὴς ὁ αἶρ. προχέονται δ' ἐκ τῆς ὀψεως ἀκτῖνες πύριναί, οὐχὶ μέλαιναί καὶ ὁμιχλώδεις. διόπερ ὁρατὸν εἶναι τὸ σκότος. 'Chrysippus says that we see by reason of the pressure of the air between ourselves and the object seen. The air is pierced by the visual effluence which reaches the pupil from the central intelligence and on its impact with the surrounding air extends itself like a cone, when the air is of a kindred nature, i.e. illuminated. And rays proceed from our eyes which are fiery, not dark or misty. Wherefore darkness is visible.' The apex of the cone is the pupil of the eye, the base the limits of the object seen. 'Archytas and the Stoics held that the fiery emanations from the

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 15, 16

eye did not mingle with air, but went straight to the object: they differed, however, as to whether these emanations could effect their journey and escape dissipation without some force keeping them together. Archytas thought they could; the Stoics seemed to believe that they needed this confining force, and that this force was supplied by the confining pressure of the air.' See Purser's note in *Hermathena* xiv, No. 33, pp. 366-7. For other passages see Arnim, *Stoic. Fragm.* ii. 233.

intentu aëris coacti describes the action of the *συνέντασις* described above. *acti* (Helm) is scarcely a probable correction for *facti* (MSS.). It does not account for the *f* of *facti*, and does not describe the process assumed by the Stoics. The same applies to other emendations suggested by Helm and other scholars; e.g. *fuliti* (Helm), *farti* (Schoene), *fracti* (Pithoeus). *facti* (MSS.) could only mean that the rays were called into action by the pressure of the air. But this is not asserted by the Stoics. The only emendation yielding the correct sense is that of Purser, *coacti* (*coacti*, *cacti*, *facti*) 'marshalled together by the pressure of the air'. 'The emphatic word is "together"; it was this cohesion which was effected by the pressure of the air. Thus the *συν-* of *συνέντασις*, which was probably the recognized word in the Stoic school to express the idea, will obtain its due recognition.' Purser, *loc. cit.*

intentu. L. and S. quote for this word only Cicero; *Sest.* 55. 117 *intentus palmarum.*

38. *paribus angulis, etc.* The law that the angle of incidence is equal to the angle of reflection.

ad faciem suam, i. e. to the eyes whence they proceed.

40. *imaginetur.* Both *imagino* ('present a picture of') and *imaginer* ('fancy') are post-Augustan words. Here the deponent is used apparently with the sense of the active verb, which is rarer and later. Cp. Gell. xvi. 18. 3 *ut speculum in loco certo positum nihil imaginet.*

CHAPTER 16

2. *cuncta specula uel uda uel suda soli uidere.* *F* reads *soli*, which is hardly tenable. For, though the general sense is clear (sc. 'it is the duty of a philosopher to study all kinds of mirrors both liquid (*uda*) and solid (*suda*)'), what is the meaning of *soli*? If it comes from *solus*, we are confronted with a twofold difficulty, (1) of construction, (2) of sense. (1) *soli* must agree with *philosophi* understood from *philosophia* above. The personified *philosophia* undoubtedly stands for the whole body of philosophers, as is shown by *quibus* in the next sentence. It is possible that Apuleius, writing carelessly, wrote *soli* instead of *sola*. (N.B. *sola*

would have been highly ambiguous following after *specula*, etc.) Or again, it is quite possible that *uideturne philosophia* should be, as in most editions, corrected to *uidenturne philosophi*. But (2) even if *soli* be accepted in this construction, a grave difficulty remains. *soli* must mean 'alone of all men', which is absurd, or 'in solitary contemplation', which is not very relevant nor very obvious from the Latin. Taking this view of *soli*, the only possible solution of the difficulty is with Van der Vliet, to read *non uidere*. The sense will then be: 'Ought philosophers to study theories of vision and the like, and, alone of all men, be debarred from looking into mirrors?' The alternative is, with Helm, to regard *soli* as the genitive of *solum*. In that case *specula soli* will mean 'natural mirrors', i. e. pools and bright objects on the ground. The phrase is a bold one and hard to parallel. (The legal term *res soli*, 'real property', suggested by Purser (Hermath. xiv. 33, p. 368), hardly helps.) But the phrase is conceivable. The sense, however, is not very satisfactory. It is the duty of the philosopher to consider all mirrors whatsoever, not only natural mirrors. If this interpretation of *soli* is to stand, the first *uel* must mean 'even'. 'The philosopher must examine all mirrors, even those rude mirrors provided by nature.' The difficulty about this interpretation lies in the fact that the first *uel* and the second will have different meanings. For this there is no certain remedy. *uelut* (Helm) or *ac uel* (Diels) would either of them give fair sense, but even with these corrections the passage lacks force and point. *solis* would really give better sense than *soli*, 'all mirrors in which the sun's light is reflected'. Cp. Sen. N. Q. i. 17. 2 *quamuis enim eum* (sc. *solem*) *orientem occidentemque contemplari liceat, tamen habitum eius, ipsum qui uerus est . . . nesciremus, nisi in aliquo humore lenior et aspici facilius occurreret*. But the genitive is too far separated from *specula* to be natural.

[Mr. Bywater suggests to us that *sollicite* may be the true reading.]

3. *uel uda uel suda*. For the assonance cp. Flor. 18 *ubi uber, ibi tuber*.

uidere. For this use (= 'to look into') cp. *speculum uidere*, c. 13 ad fin.

5. *ferme pares*. Unevennesses on the surface of the mirror, such as would be far more pronounced in Apuleius' day than now, would prevent exact reproduction.

obtus. Abstract for concrete in the plural. It means things seen, and practically forms a hendiadys with *imagines* (see Koziol, p. 226). This is not a classical use, nor is Apuleius' use of it in the singular as = eye. Cp. Met. i. 4 *isto gemino obtutu*; ii. 2 *at illa obtutum in me conuersa*. See also Apol. 86, where it appears in a passage the correct reading of which is doubtful.

6. *in tumidis*. Probably *in* should be supplied; but the omission of a preposition may be paralleled from c. 44 *ex eodem catino cenare, eodem poculo bibere*. There, however, the phrase without the repetition of the preposition would not be so unintelligible as this. Cp. also c. 65 *cur non argento uel auro, sed potissimum ex ligno simulacrum fieri uoluerim*, where the ablative is without the preposition in the first half of the clause and with it in the second.

defectiora. This comparative is used again by Apuleius in de D. Socr. prol. 5 ad fin. *nec exemplis pauperior nec oratione defectior*. The superlative appears in Columella i. praef. 12. See Neue, Formenlehre, ii. 225.

8. *quando se imago, etc.* 'Why does our reflection retire into the depths of the mirror when we retire, and approach once more when we approach? The perspective of mirrors must be inquired into.' This is simpler than supposing Apuleius to refer to mirrors of uneven surface or to concave or convex surfaces, where the perspective is confused and the reflections lose their proper relations.

tum recondat penitus, tum foras exserat. The adverbs serve merely to reinforce the meaning of the verbal prefixes. Cp. the favourite expression of Apuleius *latenter abscondere* (Met. v. 20; vi. 12; viii. 5; viii. 16) and Apol. 35 *foras euoluuntur*.

9. *caua specula*. The ancient substitute for the burning lens.

exaduersum soli. The word is used here with the dative, as in Ter. Phorm. 88. So also in Flor. 15 it is possible that *exaduersum Mileto* should be read (Scioppius). It is generally used without a case, or as a preposition governing the accusative.

10. *appositum* = 'placed near'. *oppositum* (Casaubon) = 'placed opposite' yields rather better sense, but the change is not absolutely necessary.

accendant. The MSS. give *accendant*. The indicative, though incorrect, would not in itself be impossible; cp. Met. ii. 22 *nec satis quisquam definire poterit quantas latebras comminiscuntur*. But the neighbouring subjunctives *exserat* and *uisantur* show that Bosscha's correction to the subjunctive is right. For the frequent confusion in *F* of *a* and *u* see above note on *ad similitudinem referundam*, c. 14 ad fin.

arcus in nubibus uarie = 'what is the cause of the prismatic colours of the rainbow'. For an elaborate discussion of the various theories of the rainbow see Sen. N. Q. i. 3-8. Two main views are there enunciated: (a) 3. 5 *quidam ita existimant arcum fieri: in ea parte, in qua iam pluit, singula stillicidia pluuiae cadentis singula esse specula, a singulis ergo reddi imaginem solis. deinde multas imagines, immo innumerabiles, et deuexas et in praeceps euntes confundi; itaque arcum esse multarum solis imaginum confusionem*.

(b) 5.13 *in eadem sententia sum qua Posidonius, ut arcum iudicem fieri nube formata in modum concaui speculi et rotundi, cui forma sit partis e pila secta.*

11. *uarie*. Sc. *uisatur*. No change seems necessary, though *uariet* (Rohde) perhaps improves the balance of the clauses.

duo soles. An allusion to the phenomenon of mock suns or *parhelia*. Cp. Sen. N. Q. i. 11. 3 *sunt autem imagines solis in nube spissa et uicina in modum speculi. . . numquis nostrum miratur, si solis effigiem in aliquo fonte aut placido lacu uidit? non, ut puto. atqui tam in sublimi facies eius quam inter nos potest reddi, si modo idonea est materia quae reddat*. See also following chapters.

12. *uolumine ingenti*. The reference is to the *Katoptrika* of Archimedes. Cp. Theon in Ptolemaei *συγγρ.* i, p. 10, ed. Bas, Tzetz. Chil. xii. 973, where he mentions *κατόπτρων τὰς ἐξάψεις* as a work of Archimedes. Archimedis opera (ed. Heiberg), vol. ii, p. 467.

Archimedes. The famous mathematician; son of the astronomer Pheidias, born *circ.* 287 B.C. He perished in the siege of Syracuse in 212 B.C. Cp. Cic. Tusc. v. 23. 64 (*Archimeden*) *homunculum a puluere et radio*.

17. *abaco*. The *abacus* or calculating board was universally used by the Romans for the purpose of arithmetical calculations, just as it is in Japan to-day. For its various forms see Marquardt, *Privatleben*, pp. 99 sqq. Cp. Pers. i. 131 *nec qui abaco numeros et secto iam puluere metas / scit risisse uaser*.

puluisculo. For the purpose of drawing geometrical figures, etc., sand spread upon the floor took the place of our blackboards, the figures being traced with a pointer. Cp. Cic. N. D. ii. 18. 48 *puluis eruditus*. It is not clear whether the diminutive *puluisculus* has any special force, as indicating that a specially fine sand was used for this purpose, or whether it is merely another example of Apuleius' love of diminutives. Cp. note on c. 6 *puluisculum*.

19. *Thyesta tragico*, 'the Thyestes of tragedy'. The reference must be to the mask worn by Thyestes in the scene where he discovers that he has eaten his own children. There were fixed types of masks, of which this must have been one; cp. Pollux (iv. 141), who does not, however, mention the Thyestes type. Cp. Cic. in Pis. 20. 47 *ego te non tragico illo Oreste aut Athamante dementiorem putem*.

demutet. The word is used intransitively by Plautus, and in later times by Tertullian and Iulius Valerius. Its intransitive use recurs in Met. i. 13 *ne quid demutaret a uictimae religione*; Flor. 16 *a qua paullulum demutabit liber*. So the simple verb *muto* is intransitive in Tac. Ann. ii. 23. 4 *postquam mutabat aestus*; xii. 29. 1 *in superbiam mutans*; and frequently in Livy.

21. *sulcos rugarum*. Cp. Ovid. Met. iii. 276 *sulcauitque cutem*

rugis; Claud. Ruf. i. 135 *rugisque seueras | persulcata genas*; Verg. Aen. vii. 417 *et frontem obscenam rugis arat*.

22. *boni consulis* = 'you think fit'. Cp. Flor. 7 *qui uos existimat mala et uitiosa uerba non intellegere aut, si intellegatis, boni consulere*; Met. viii. 9 *boni ergo et optimi consules*; vi. 3 *optimi consule*. Purser, in a note on this last passage (Cupid and Psyche), cites Quint. i. 6. 32 *sit enim consul a consulendo uel a iudicando: nam et hoc consulere ueteres uocauerunt, unde adhuc remanet illud 'rogat boni consulas' id est bonum iudices. consulo, therefore, is to be taken as an old use = iudico, and boni and optimi are genitive (locative) of price: i.e. you judge at a fair price. See Roby, § 1191.*

distortissimo uultu tuo. Cp. 23 *ad fin. istam teterrimam faciem*.

24. *iurgiosus*. Post-classical. L. and S. quote two passages from Gellius. Add Front. ad M. Caes. iv. 12 *accipe aliut rixatorium iam hoc et iurgiosum*.

25. *nuper usque* = 'until quite recently'. Cp. 23 *qui nuper usque, etc.* The phrase is formed on the analogy of *huc usque*. So, too, in later Latin poets *nunc usque* = 'up to now'.

albus an ater esses. Cp. Cat. xciii *nil nimium studeo, Caesar, tibi uelle placere, | nec scire utrum sis albus an ater homo*. Cp. also Quint. xi. 1. 38; Cic. Phil. ii. 16. 41; Phaedr. iii. 15. 10; Jerome adv. Helv. 16. A proverbial expression.

28. *a probatore obstitit* = 'has saved you from scrutiny'. Hildebrand quotes as parallels Lucan i. 59 *nullaeque obstant a Caesare nubes*, and Sall. Cat. 58. 6 *exercitus unus ab urbe, alter a Gallia obstant*. But in both these examples the meaning of the preposition is 'on the side of'. Here it seems like the ordinary construction with *prohibeo*. *probator* here means one who *proves* or *tries*: in classical Latin it means one who *approves*, and is used by Apuleius with that meaning in D. Socr. 16 *malorum improbator bonorum probator*.

31. *quod qui forte constitit*. For the omission of the antecedent *ei* cp. c. 102 *eminiscimini, quod respondeatis qui uos ita rogarit*. Novák's emendation *quod ei qui* is needless.

in loco lumine collustrato. Perhaps suggested by the Lucretian phrase *loca lumine lustrans* (v. 575).

32. *atque eum prospectat*. For the introduction of the demonstrative with *atque* into a relative sentence cp. Plaut. Capt. 555 *quibus insputari saluti fuit atque is (dat.) profuit*. Apol. 53 *si uiueret atque eum interrogares* illustrates its use where the subject of a clause changes.

33. *in propatulo et celebri*. Cp. note on c. 7 *in propatulo et conspicuo*.

34. *arbitraris* = 'witness' (cp. *arbiter*), a Plautine use, cp. Aul. 607, Capt. 220; found eight times in *Metamorphoses*.

CHAPTER 17

1. *seruosne tu habeas*. *F* has *seriorne an*, though *uor* is written over the last three letters. Helm (Philologus, ix. 567) points out that *ior* is an alteration by a later hand, and that originally it was *seruor*. ϕ gives *seruos*, which is generally accepted. *ne an*, however, is very difficult. It has been defended on two grounds. Bosscha argued that *ne an* might stand for *anne*, which is impossible. Helm suggested (loc. cit.) that Apuleius made a slip. He began meaning to say *seruosne habeas* without intending any second *an* clause, then changed his mind and continued with a double *an* construction, a poetical usage for *ne . . . an* or *utrum . . . an*. In view of the fact that this speech was almost certainly revised for publication Helm's suggestion is quite impossible, and has indeed been abandoned by himself. He now reads *seruosne tu*, which is a satisfactory and very probable correction, since *t* and *a* are often almost indistinguishable in *F* (cp. c. 22, *ac*, note). The alternative is, with Krüger, to omit *an*, or with Purser (Hermath. xiv, No. 33, p. 369) to read *seruorumne*. 'We should rather suppose *an* to be the remnant of *-um*, and that the original reading was *seruorumne*, the *u* having been written above the line in the MSS. from which *F* was copied, and transcribed into the wrong place. . . . It will be governed by *operas* in the next clause.' For the genitive he cites Digest. xxxiii. 1. 2 *diurnas operas Stichi*. The argument is ingenious, but the reading is exceedingly awkward, as the genitive is left unsupported for too long.

2. *mutuarias*. ἀπ. λεγ. There is a sort of pleonastic prolepsis about the use of this word, which does little more than repeat the meaning of *cambies*. Cp. Met. xi. 7 *mare quietas alluuiæ temperabat*. See Koziol, p. 125. For the practice cp. Gell. ii. 29. 7 *dominus postea segetum illarum filium adolescentem uocat et 'uidesne' inquit 'haec ematuruisse et manus iam postulare? idcirco die crastini, ubi primum diluculabit, fac amicos eas et roges, ueniant operamque mutuam dent et messim hanc adiument'*

cambies. A colloquial word found in literature only here and in Sículus Flaccus, Grom. 151. 20. It is, however, mentioned fairly often in the grammarians and glossaries. 'It is not derived, as Priscian (ii. 541. 13, Keil) supposed, from κάμπω, but is a Celtic word, connected with the Irish *cimb*, "tribute", and the modern Irish *gaimbín*, "interest"; in fact with that unestimable personage, the "gombeen man" (see Walde's Lat. Etym. Wörterbuch, p. 118).' Purser, loc. cit. The word survives in the Spanish *cambiar*, Italian *cambiare*, and through the French *changer* in our *change*. The grammarians also notice a fourth conjugation verb *cambio* with perf. *campsi* (Charis. i. 247. 9 and 262. 5, and Prisc., l. c.).

3. **laboro.** Sc. *scire*, supplied from *scio*. Cp. ellipses after *potest* and *solent*, c. 18, notes. So again in c. 20.

eadem die. See note on c. 2 *postera die*.

tris Oeae manu misisse. The significance of this charge is not quite clear. Apparently from the statements made in this and the following chapter Aemilianus had taunted Apuleius with his poverty, presumably to show that he had interested motives in marrying a rich widow. But it is not clear what is the precise relation between the statements that he had only one slave when he came to Oea and the statement that he had manumitted three slaves on one and the same day. *Prima facie* one would have supposed that the manumission of the three slaves took place after his marriage with Pudentilla, and that Aemilianus had brought up the fact in connexion with Apuleius' change of fortune. But the whole argument of this chapter serves to show that the manumission of three slaves was mentioned as an indication of his poverty; i. e. the three slaves were all that he possessed. In that case the play that Apuleius makes with the inconsistency between the two statements of his accuser will have little real importance. He is dealing with a trivial charge and denounces the inconsistency to emphasize its triviality. Against this view it must always be remembered that Apuleius may misstate the charge brought against him. It is possible that Aemilianus may have intended to taunt Apuleius with his interested motives and his change of fortune, but may have bungled the charge and framed it in such confused language as to give Apuleius the opportunity of dealing with it as he actually does. But cp. c. 25 *unum seruum ut parci, tris libertos ut profusi*.

Oeae. The modern Tripoli.

4. **patronus tuus.** See note on c. 2 *adscribit se assistere*.

5. **modico.** Used adverbially: the classical word is *modice*. Apuleius uses a substantive *modicum* (Met. vi. 16 *modicum de tua mittas ei formonsitate*), and from this the ablative is used commonly by him as an adverb. Cp. Met. i. 7 *modico prius quam Larissam accederem*; i. 22 *cum dicto modico secus progressus*; ib. *infra modico deinde regressa*, etc.

7. **nisi si.** The hypothetical force of *nisi* is ignored; cp. *quasi si*. Like *nisi forte* it is constantly used with a touch of irony. For examples cp. Dräger, ii. 751.

tantamne esse . . . dicam an. The infinitive is exclamatory with *ne*, as commonly; cp. Verg. Aen. i. 37, 97, etc. *dicam an* merely suggests a substituted form of expression without affecting the main construction; cp. 102 *o graue ueneficium dicam an ingratum beneficum?* Met. i. 7 *eumque prope uestio dicam an contego?* Cic. Leg. Man. 19. 57 *quo mihi etiam indignius uidetur obtrectatum esse adhuc Gabinio dicam an Pompeio an utrique?* Liv. xxxi. 29 *an imitari Romanorum licentiam an leuitatem dicam, mauoltis?*

10. **intergarritis.** Past part. of *intergarrio*, a verb not found elsewhere.

una die. See note on c. 2 *postera die*.

15. **famulitii.** The word is ante- and post-classical; it appears with the collective signification also in Met. viii. 22. In Met. ii. 2 and vi. 8 Apuleius uses the rarer word *famulitio*.

opprobraris. See note on c. 4 *opprobasset*.

16. **quippe qui.** See note on c. 3 *quippe qui*.

17. **sectatorem.** The word is used in classical Latin of a follower or retainer, but only in post-classical Latin with the sense of the adherent of a philosophical school. Cp. c. 31 *Zoroastri sectatorem*.

19. **patroni tui.** See note on *adscribit se ei assistere*, c. 2.

M. Antonium. The famous orator, born 143 B.C., consul 99 B.C., died 87 B.C. This is the only reference to his frugality in the matter of his household, but he was a typical Roman of the older school. When censor in 97 B.C. he expelled M. Duronius, tribune of the plebs, from the senate for vetoing a sumptuary law intended to limit the expenditure on banquets; cp. Val. Max. ii. 9. 5. He was averse to Greek culture, and only began to study Greek late in life; cp. Cic. de Or. i. 82.

20. **Carbonem.** Consul 85, and sole consul 84 B.C. (cp. *qui rebus potitus est*), one of the leaders of the Marian party, and one of the chief opponents of Sulla after Marius' death. We hear nothing elsewhere of his frugality.

21. **at enim.** *enim* is used to strengthen *at* (= 'but indeed'), a use not uncommon in the comic poets; cp. Ter. Adelph. 168, etc. In such cases it has not the usual force of a suggested objection. Cp. cc. 20 and 85. Sometimes, however, in Apuleius it has the classical sense of 'but you will say'; cp. c. 27 *at enim maior natu non est iuuenem aspernata*. Sometimes the objector himself is made to say *at enim*; cp. c. 40 '*at enim*' inquit, '*piscem cui rei nisi malae proscidisti?*'

Manio Curio. Manius Curius Dentatus; see note on c. 10 *Curiis*. For the whole passage cp. Athen. vi. 105 (273).

adoreis = glories or distinctions. The derivation is uncertain. It is generally derived from *ador*, 'corn'. Cp. Paul. Fest. iii. 12 *adoream laudem sine gloriam dicebant quia gloriosum eum putabant qui farris copia abundaret*. Pliny refers it rather to a donative given to victorious soldiers; xviii. 14 *gloriam . . . a farris honore adoream appellabant*; xviii. 83 *donis adoreis*. So too Lyd. Mag. i. 47. Servius, on the other hand, on Verg. Aen. x. 677 derives it from *adoro*. *ueteres adorare adloqui dicebant: namque ideo et adorea laus bellica quod omnes eum cum gratulatione adloquebantur qui in bello fortiter fecit*. The word is ante- and post-classical, though it occurs once in Horace, Odes iv. 4. 41.

22. **ter triumphum . . . egerit.** (1) Over the Samnites in

COMMENTARY: CHAPTER 17

290 B.C. during his first consulship; (2) over the Sabines in the same year; (3) over the Samnites and Pyrrhus in 275 B.C. during his second consulship. For his victories over the Lucanians in 285 he received an *ouatio* only. For a discussion of the question of his triumphs see P. Wissowa, *Real-Enc.*, s.v. *Curius*.

una porta. Strictly this should mean the *porta Triumphalis*, through which all triumphs passed. The site of this gate is uncertain. It is supposed to have been an arch standing on the Campus Martius and to have been open only for triumphs. Cp. Cic. in Pis. 23. 55; Joseph. Bell. Jud. vii. 5. 4; Tac. Ann. i. 8. The allusion is rather pointless here, and the antithesis between *ter* and *una* weak. It is possible that, as Pricaeus suggests, Apuleius means that the geographical position of the enemies conquered by Dentatus was such that on his return from each campaign he would naturally have entered Rome by the same gate. But the Sabines were not south of Rome. Any allusion to the *ouatio* over the Lucanians is out of the question, as in the next sentence Apuleius enumerates the triumphs of Dentatus correctly enough.

23. ei igitur. The pronoun as usual accompanies the resumptive *igitur*. Cp. 58 *hunc igitur Quintianum*. This use of *igitur* is not found in the *Metamorphoses*.

25. triumphator. Post-classical.

26. M. Cato. Marcus Porcius Cato (234-149 B.C.), the famous writer and statesman, was consul in 195 B.C. and conducted a successful campaign in that and the following year (cp. *cum in Hispaniam consul proficisceretur*). Cp. also Val. Max. iv. 3. 11; Plut. Cat. Maj. 10.

nihil oppertus ut. *ut* is common after *expecto*, rare with *opperior*. Cp. however Liv. xlii. 48. 10; Tac. Ann. xv. 68; Tiro ap. Gell. vi (vii). 3. 42.

27. in oratione sua. Cp. Caton. fragm. rec. Jordan, p. 38.

28. duxisse. Sc. *se*. For the omission of the subject of the dependent infinitive when it is the same as that of the principal verb cp. note on c. 2 *pollicitus ita facturum*, and Dräger, ii. 440, where he collects numerous examples from classical Latin.

29. quoniam here seems to have no more than the meaning 'after', 'when'. Cp. Plaut. Mil. 129 *ego quoniam inspexi mulieris sententiam, cepi tabellas*; Asin. 711; Trin. 112, 149; Aul. 9, etc.

ad uillam publicam. The *uilla publica* was a large public hall on the edge of the Campus Martius (Varro, R. R. iii. 2) used for the purpose of holding the census and levying troops, also for the entertainment of foreign ambassadors (Liv. iv. 22 and xxx. 21). Cato had gone there to levy troops for his expedition to Spain.

qui uteretur. Cp. Cic. Att. xi. 11. 2 and Madvig, Lat. Gr. § 86, obs. 2.

30. de mensa. Cp. Met. viii. 26 *collaticia stipe de mensa paratus*. *mensa* here is the platform on which the slaves were exposed

APVLEI APOLOGIA

for sale. Cp. Pollux vii. 11 ἐφ' ὃ δὲ βαίνοντες οἱ δοῦλοι πιπράσκονται τοῦτο τράπεζαν Ἀριστοφάνης καλεῖ.

32. *huic maledicto supersedisset*. A rare and scarcely classical use of *supersedeo* with the dative. In Cicero and Livy, where the case can be determined, it is the ablative. In Apol. 88 *conviniis ac molestiis* might be either.

CHAPTER 18

1. *paupertatem*. It is obvious that the motive for this accusation must have been to show that Apuleius married Pudentilla for her money. Cc. 18-22 make no attempt to meet this insinuation, but are occupied with the embroidery of the stock theme that the philosopher prefers poverty to wealth, that poverty is the mother of virtue, etc. For a detailed discussion of these chapters see Vallette, loc. cit., 129-57. Many parallels (esp. Sen. ad Helv. cc. 9 sqq.) may be cited for the platitudes uttered by Apuleius in these chapters, both from philosophers and rhetoricians. The latter made free use of them in their declamations.

opprobrait. Cp. note on c. 4 *opprobasset*.

2. *enim*. As first word in the sentence, common in the comic poets: Plautus always uses it with a corroborative, not an illative force. Instances of its use at the beginning of a sentence are found in Apuleius, Apol. 42, 98, 99; Flor. 9 twice, 18; D. Socr. 8, 19; Met. vii. 8, and probably 22, where the reading is uncertain. The instances occurring in the interval between the comic poets and Apuleius are doubtful or false.

olim. Either (1) 'this long time', a post-Augustan use, cp. note on *olim*, c. 45 (the present is found with this use e.g. Sen. Ep. 77. 3); or (2) 'at various times' (whether rarely or often) as in Hor. S. i. 1. 25 *ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi | doctores*.

3. *uernacula* may be (1) a noun, 'the handmaid', a post-classical use, or (2) an adjective, 'native to'. The adjective is used thus by Cic. Brut. 46. 172 *uernaculus sapor*. But there is no parallel for the dative or genitive *philosophiae*. See Addenda.

paruo potens. Cp. Verg. Aen. vi. 843 *paruoque potentem*.

4. *aduersum diuitias possessa*. If this, the reading of the MSS., is correct, it must mean that 'the possession of poverty is a prophylactic against the dangers of wealth'. So Novák. This is simpler and more natural than Helm's explanation, '*paupertas, si cum diuitiis comparatur* (i.e. *adu. diuitias*), *uere possidetur, diuitiae fluxae et fragiles sunt*'. For this use of *aduersum* cp. Liv. xxiv. 8. 8 *aduersus ueterem imperatorem comparabitur*. But the interpretation puts too great a strain on *possessa* and attempts to get too much meaning out of it. Novák's interpretation is probably right. No satisfactory emendation seems possible. *aduersum*

diuitiis professa (Casaubon) is the least objectionable: 'professing ideals contrary to those of wealth'. But the sense is rather weak.

5. *benesuada*. Found only here and in Carm. Epigr. (Christ.) 747. 5; *malesuadus* is found in Plaut. Most. 213 and Verg. Aen. vi. 276.

6. *impotentia*, 'lack of self-control'.

7. *potest*. Sc. *uelle* or some verb indicating practice or enjoyment. For the omission of the infinitive cp. 20 *qui superuacanea nolit, possit necessaria*. The phrase *neque uult neque potest* recurs in c. 98, but there with infinitive expressed (*loqui*).

8. *alumni solent*. Van der Vliet inserts *esse*, as though *alumni* were used substantivally and not as an adjective. But in c. 24 we find the neuter used of vines and vegetables. We have to regard *flagitia* as accusative and *alumni* as nominative, understanding a verb to govern *flagitia*, as in the preceding sentence *delicias uentris neque uult ullas neque potest*. See Ellis in C. R. xiv. 470 and Helm, Phil., p. 568.

9. *scelera*. Abstract for concrete = *scelesti homines*. Cp. Met. iv. 12 *senile illud facinus*; 31 *marinum obsequium*. Plautus and Terence use *scelus* freely as meaning 'rogue', e.g. Plaut. Pers. 192 *scelus tu pueri es*. They even use a masculine pronoun with it; cp. Plaut. Bacch. 1095 *is me scelus attondit*; Ter. And. 844.

si percenseas . . . reperies. For the form of the conditional sentence see note on c. 54 *dies me deficiet . . . si uelim*.

12. *nutricata est*. The active is more commonly used: but the deponent form appears in Cic. N. D. ii. 86, and Varro, Menipp. 542. The pseudo-Apuleius has the active *nutricat* in Ascl. 36. See note on c. 11 *muneraretur*.

13. *apud saecula*. A rare use of the preposition applied to time. Cp. Ter. Eun. 246 *apud saeculum prius*. These are the only examples apart from words like *antiquos, ueteres, maiores, etc.*, where *apud* = 'in the time of'. See Addenda.

omnium ciuitatum conditrix. With special reference to the foundation of Rome. *conditrix* is post-classical.

14. *omnium artium repertrix*. Cp. Eur. Fr. 642 N. *πενία σοφίαν ἔλαχε*; Theocr. xxi. *ἡ πένια μόνα τὰς τέχνας ἐγείρει*; Plaut. Stich. 178 *nam illa* (sc. *paupertas*) *artes omnes perdocet, ubi quem attigit*; Publil. Syr. 210 *hominem experiri multa paupertas docet*; Ov. A. A. ii. 43 *ingenium mala saepe mouent*. *repertrix* is post-classical.

15. *gloriae munifica*. The only instance of *munificus* with genitive.

16. *eadem . . . paupertas*. Cp. Ael. V. H. ii. 43 *πενέστατοι ἐγένοντο οἱ ἄριστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων*.

17. *Aristide*. Aristides the Just, though of noble birth, was poor. Cp. the story told by Aeschines, the disciple of Socrates, that Callias, his cousin, was reproached with Aristides' poverty and

replied that he had made him offers of assistance, but that they had been declined (Plut. Arist. 25). His daughters received a dowry from the state, Plut. Arist. 27. Cp. the statements about Fabricius, Scipio, and Curius a few lines lower.

Phocione. For his poverty cp. Plut. Phoc. 9.

benigna. Cp. Plut. Phoc. 5 τῷ δὲ ἤθει προσηνέστατος καὶ φιλανθρωπότατος.

Epaminonda. Epaminondas was of noble birth, but born and nurtured in poverty; cp. Plut. Pel. 3; Corn. Nep. xv. 2. Aelian V. H. ii. 43 couples the names of Aristides, Phocion, Epaminondas, and Socrates as examples of poor men who yet were great and virtuous.

18. Homero. Cp. Sen. Consol. ad Helv. 12 *unum fuisse Homero seruum . . . satis constat*. Apuleius probably has this passage in mind, since Seneca goes on to mention the dowering of Scipio's daughters, the funeral of Menenius Agrippa, and the provision by the state for the cultivation of the lands of Atilius Regulus.

eadem paupertas. Cp. Sen. Contr. i. 6. 4; Val. Max. iv. 4. 11; Sen. Ep. 87. 41; Juv. vi. 294.

20. in hodiernum, 'to this day'. Post-Augustan. It recurs in cc. 38 and 53. It is a tendency of common speech to make the adjective do duty for the noun. Thus the French *jour*, Italian *giorno* are derived from *diurnum* not *dies*.

simpulo et catino fictili. *F* gives *simpulo*, though *simpuuio* is given as a variant in the margin, and *simpulo* seems to have been the original reading of φ. *simpulum* is a ladle used for libations. Fest. p. 337 *simpulum uas paruulum non dissimile cyatho, quo uinum in sacrificiis libabatur*. *simpuuio* was a very similar vessel. In favour of the reading *simpuuio* is Juv. vi. 343 *simpuuium ridere Numae nigrumque catinum*. The use of earthenware vessels at sacrifices was instituted by Numa; cp. Juv. loc. cit.; Cic. Paradox. i. 2. *catinum* is a bowl. For the sentiment cp. Porphyry. περὶ ἀποχ. ii. 18 διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς κεραμείοις ἀγγείοις καὶ τοῖς ξυλίνοις καὶ πλεκτοῖς ἐχρῶντο καὶ μᾶλλον πρὸς τὰς δημοτελεῖς ἱεροποιῖας τοιούτοις χαίρειν πεπεισμένοι τὸ θεῖον.

21. de causa ista. In Apuleius, as in mediaeval Latin and Romance languages, *iste* constantly = *hic* (Kretschmann, pp. 90, 91). So in c. 63 *magicum istud simulacrum* refers to the same statue which has been called *hoccine* in the previous sentence, and in c. 58 *istum* and *hunc* refer to the same person. In this particular passage it would be possible to translate 'the charge you bring against me'; and *ad iudicium istud*, a few lines below, as 'to judge the offence that you indict'. But *iste* is constantly used of the prosecution when they are not actually addressed (e. g. 66 *Aemilianus . . . accusationem istam . . . suscepit*).

22. C. Fabricius. See note on c. 10. For the dowering of his daughters cp. Val. Max. iv. 4. 10.

COMMENTARY : CHAPTERS 18, 19

Gn. Scipio, consul 222 B.C., served as *legatus* to his brother Publius during the second Punic war (218–211 B.C.) in Spain, where he was defeated and slain. For the dowering of his daughters cp. Sen. N. Q. i. 17. 9; Val. Max. loc. cit.

C. and Gn. The spelling of the MSS. is inconsistent. In c. 66 *Cn.*, the ordinary abbreviation of *Gnaeus*, is twice read.

Curius. See note on c. 10. This passage is our only authority for the dowering of his daughters by the state.

25. Publicola (*Valerius*) was colleague of Brutus in the consulship in the first year of the republic. For the story of his funeral cp. Liv. ii. 16; Val. Max. iv. 4. 1.

Agrippa (*Menenius*), consul 503 B.C., mediator between the plebs and the nobles in 493 B.C., in which year he died. For his funeral cp. Liv. ii. 33. 10; Val. Max. iv. 4. 2.

27. Atilius Regulus. Not the Atilius Regulus mentioned in c. 10 (*Serranis*), but the more famous general (consul 267 and 256), who was captured and put to death by the Carthaginians. During his absence at the war the state cultivated his lands. Cp. Sen. ad Helv. 12. 5; Val. Max. iv. 4. 6, where the two Atilii are carefully distinguished. For the whole of this passage cp. Val. Max. iv. 4 (*de paupertate*). The simplicity of the life of the great Romans of old had long been a rhetorical commonplace; cp. Cic. Paradox. 50 *ne semper Curios et Luscinos loquamur*.

29. prosapiae. An archaic word. Cp. Quint. i. 6. 40; viii. 3. 26 *prosapia insulsum*. It is, however, used both by Sallust and Suetonius. In Apuleius it is found in Met. i. 1; iii. 11; vi. 23; viii. 2; ix. 35; x. 18; D. Socr. 23. See Beck on Met. vi. 23.

30. breui usura lucis. Cp. Met. ii. 28 *da breuem solis usuram*. The expression is Ciceronian; cp. Verr. ii. 5. 29. 75; Cat. i. 12. 29; Sull. 32. 90 (Helm. praef. ad Flor. xxiv).

iudicium istud. See note on *de causa ista* above. The phrase recurs in cc. 66, 80.

31. audirent, auderesne. The puns of Apuleius are sometimes a mere jingle, depending neither on common derivation from the same word, nor on any pointed antithesis. Cf. c. 67 *omne uirus totis uiribus adnixa effundere*; c. 66 *ulla alia causa praeter cassam inuidiam*; Flor. 18 *audiendum . . . audendum*. See Introd., p. lvi.

CHAPTER 19

4. huius animi frustra es. An imitation of the Greek genitive with *σφάλλεσθαι*. Cp. Plaut. Epid. 239 *nec sermonis fallebar tamen*; Gell. v. 10. 16 *captionis uersute excogitatae frustratus fuit*. *animi* might have been locative, as often with *aeger*, *furens*, etc., had it stood alone with *frustra*; but such a use of the word is never found with an adjective or pronoun agreeing with it.

For *frustra esse*, 'to be deceived', cp. Sall. Jug. 85. 6; Liv. ii. 25. The phrase is not found in Cicero or Caesar, though common in the comic poets.

5. *austerae sectae* suggests that Claudius Maximus was a Stoic. It is the sole statement in the course of this speech that would lead us to identify Claudius Maximus with the Stoic philosopher of that name. See note on Claudius Maximus, c. 1. But the phrase may be no more than an exaggerated piece of flattery on the part of Apuleius.

6. *diutinae militiae*. See note on Claudius Maximus, c. 1.

9. *etiam ea etsi* is Van der Vliet's correction of *etiam ea si* Ff. *si* alone is not strong enough. *etsi* is better placed after *ea* than before (as by Salmasius), since the *et* might easily have dropped out after *ea*, to which in the Lombard hand it would bear a very close resemblance. Cp. note on c. 17 *seruosne*, etc.

gestetur et trahatur. *et* seems to have an adversative force. Latin writers, especially the comic poets, use copulative where English use adversative particles. See Tyrrell on Plaut. Mil. 448, and Leky, p. 55.

10. *lacinia praependens*. Floridus cites as from Xenophon αἱ μὲν ποδῆρεις ἐσθῆτες τὰ σώματα, αἱ δὲ ὑπέρμετροι περιουσίαι τὰς ψυχὰς ἐμποδίζουσι. We have failed to trace the reference.

11. *quicquid aptam*, etc. Cp. Sen. Ep. 108. 14 *et ostendere quam quidquid usum excederet, pondus esset superuacuum et graue ferenti*; Apul. Flor. 14 *rem familiarem abicit uelut onus stercoris magis labori quam usui*.

12. *oneri potius quam usui exuberat*. The dative of purpose, which is employed in classical Latin with a very limited number of verbs, has a widely extended use in Apuleius (especially with datives in *-ui*). Cp. Met. viii. 2 *sceleri accingitur*; viii. 18 *refectui paululum conquiescere*; ix. 5 *aliquid cibati parabis*; Sall. Jug. 14. 4 *oneri quam usui esse*. See Dräger, i. 443.

13. *immodicae diuitiae*, etc. Cp. Sen. Ep. 22. 12 *nemo cum sarcinis enatat*. Also Apol. 21 *namque animi ita ut corporis*, etc., where Apuleius repeats the same theme.

15. *nimietatem*. Not found before Apuleius, who uses it several times in the Metamorphoses; ii. 16; iii. 10; viii. 8; ix. 18 and 25. It appears later in Arnobius, Palladius, and Eutropius.

19. *ditibus . . . quaeritur*. *ditibus* might be either dative of the agent or dative of interest.

21. *simulatam*. The reading of several of the later MSS. (see App. Crit.) is a simple and necessary correction of *simulata* Ff. *fungor* with the accusative is the normal construction in ante-classical Latin. This is one of Apuleius' numerous archaisms, and occurs in Met. vi. 12 and viii. 16. Cp. also Lucr. iii. 734 and 956; Fronto ad V. ii. 7. (*simulate* (v) and *simulato* (Acidalius) balance *uere* more neatly, but are a trifle further from the reading of Ff.

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 19, 20

Moreover, *simulato* is not found elsewhere, though there are analogies for the form in Apuleius (cp. note on c. 14 *diutino*). For *simulatam* balancing the adverb *uere* cp. Cic. Or. 21 *de quo praeclare et multa praecipiantur*; Sall. Jug. 5 *magnum atque late imperium ualuit. ea* (keeping *simulata*), the emendation of Krüger, is simple; but it is not so likely that the less common accusative crept into the text by accident, as that the line over the last *a* of *simulata* was carelessly omitted. The fact that the accusative gives an archaic construction is really in favour of its correctness.)

CHAPTER 20

1. *et ipsius*. For *et ipse*, frequent in Apuleius, cp. cc. 32, 42, 51, 58. It is not found in Caesar, but five times in Cicero and three in Tacitus.

nominis controuersiam facere. Cp. Tac. Dial. 25 *nominis controuersiam mouit*. So often *uerbi controuersia* in Cic., e.g. de Or. i. 107.

2. *neminem nostrum*, etc. Sc. *qui philosophi sumus*. The doctrine is that of αὐτάρκεια, professed above all by the Cynics and Stoics. Cp. Cic. T. D. iii. 23. 56 *paupertatis onus disputando leuamus docentes quam parua et quam pauca sint quae natura desideret*.

4. *namque is plurimum*, etc. Cp. Sen. Ep. 108. 11 *is minimo eget mortalis qui minimum cupit*.

6. *diuitiae non melius*, etc. Cp. Sen. Cons. ad Helv. 11. 5 *animus est qui diuites facit*; Ep. 4. 11 *qui cum paupertate bene conuenit diues est*; 108. 11 *in animo non in patrimonio putent esse diuitias*; Xen. Conv. iv. 34 νομίζω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οὐκ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὴν πενίαν ἔχειν ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς.

8. *nec montibus auri satiabitur*. The apodosis begins here. *nec* = *ne quidem*, see note on c. 15. *montes auri* is proverbial. Cp. Plaut. Mil. 1065; Ter. Phorm. 68 *modo non montes auri polliciens* (Donatus, *proverbialis ὑπερβολή*); Pers. iii. 65.

10. *omnis enim cupido acquirendi ex opinione inopiae uenit*. Cp. Sen. Cons. ad Helv. 12. 1 *paupertas quam nemo grauem sentit nisi qui putat*.

13. *Philus* (L. Furius), a contemporary of Laelius and the younger Scipio, consul 136 B. C., and a model of all the virtues. He was celebrated for his love of Greek literature and philosophy. Cicero introduces him as one of the speakers in his *de Republica*, and speaks of him and Laelius as *moderatissimos et continentissimos*, pro Arch. poet. 7. 16.

Laelius (C.), named the Wise, consul 140 B. C., the well-known friend of the younger Scipio.

Scipio. P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus, consul

147 B.C., the destroyer of Carthage, the friend of Laelius and Philus.

14. **Crassus Diues.** Not the well-known triumvir, but probably a famous contemporary of Laelius and Scipio, P. Licinius Crassus Diues Mucianus, consul 131 B.C. Cp. Gell. i. 13 *traditur habuisse quinque rerum bonarum maxima et praecipua: quod esset ditissimus, quod nobilissimus, quod eloquentissimus, quod iuris-consultissimus, quod pontifex maximus.* Diues was a common name in the gens *Licinia*, and was first borne by P. Licinius Crassus Diues, consul 205 B.C.

nec. See note on c. 15.

15. **a suamet auaritia.** For this use of *a* cp. Cic. Off. i. 20. 68 *qui inuictum se a labore praestiterit, uinci a uoluptate.*

17. **philosophi.** Socrates is, strictly speaking, the only actual philosopher mentioned among the list of poor men in the preceding chapters, but Apuleius does not use the phrase here in the sense of 'professed philosophers', but of men who by the simplicity of their lives showed that they had the philosophic spirit. Even the narrower meaning of the word might be defended as applied to Philus, Laelius, and Scipio.

19. **sis** (the reading of various of the later MSS., see App. Crit.) is perhaps the simplest correction of *scis Fφ*, which is hardly possible, even if, as Helm suggests, it be regarded as parenthetical. *fis* (*V³ M¹*) is in some ways more natural, but a little less close to *Fφ*. *sies* (Hildebrand) is an archaism, for which there is no parallel in Apuleius. [*V²* reads *si es.*] *eris* (Rohde) involves little change and is possible.

20. **quippe qui.** See note on c. 3 *quippe qui.*

21. **cernuntur.** For the plural cp. *distributa*, c. 11.

si pauperem me haberi uis, etc. Cp. de Pl. ii. 21; Sen. Benef. vii. 10. 6 *quidquid habet, ei, quod cupit, comparet; pauper est*; Ep. 90. 38 *auaritia paupertatem intulit et multa concupiscendo omnia amisit.*

CHAPTER 21

2. **inuidit . . . imminuit . . . eripuit . . . reliquit.** Cp. note on c. 44 *inuertisset, etc.* The indicative is used freely by Apuleius in clauses subordinate to a dependent infinitive. Cp. 58 *qua iam Quintianus migrarat*; 74 *quod antea nimio studio festinarat.*

4. **opprobriari.** Cp. c. 4 *opproblasset*, note.

nulli ex animalibus, etc. Parallels from the animal kingdom are not rare in the fragments of Diogenes that have been preserved. Cp. Mullach. Fragm. Phil. Graec. ii (Diogenes 4, 250, 262, 265, 268, 288, 292).

6. **equus si uirtutibus, etc.** Cp. de Deo Socr. 23 *neque enim in emendis equis phaleras consideramus et baltei polimina inspicimus,*

et ornatissimae ceruicis diuitias contemplamur, . . . sed istis omnibus exuuiis amolitis equum ipsum nudum et solum corpus eius et animum contemplamur.

9. *paucioris habeo*. Sc. *seruos*. This seems to be the meaning. Cp. 17 *paucioris seruos habuit*. Apuleius is not averse to the omission of substantives that can be easily understood. Cp. 103 *dotalis accipe*. Some editors (e.g. Fulvius) emend to *habito*, 'I live more economically'; or with Pricaeus hold that *habeo* has here the meaning of *habito* as in ante-classical Latin, e.g. Plaut. Men. 69 *qui Syracusis habet*; Trin. 193. Cp. our use of 'keep' Merch. Ven. iii. 3: 'It is the most impenetrable cur | that ever kept with men.' But *paucioris* as a genitive of price needs illustration.

10. *uestio*. *me* is understood. Cp. Tert. Pall. 1 *sic in proximo . . . uestiebat*. This is better than to understand *seruos* as the object; so too with *pasco*.

14. *laciniosa*, 'overloaded'. This metaphorical use is late. Cp. Tertull. adv. Marc. iv. 1 and 29 *laciniosae uitae et implicitae*.

15. *ad natandum*. Cp. Sen. loc. cit. in note on c. 19 *immodicae diuitiae*.

17. *sustentui*. ἀπ. λεγ.

demersui. Used only here and in Firm. Mat. i. 4. 11.

equidem didici ea re praecedere, etc. Cp. Xen. Mem. i. 6. 10 (Socrates loq.) ἐγὼ δὲ νομίζω τὸ μὲν μηδενὸς δέισθαι θεῖον εἶναι, τὸ δ' ὡς ἐλαχίστων ἐγγυτάτῳ τοῦ θεῖου.

19. *ad usum sui*. Cp. note on c. 25 *ad inuidiam mei*.

CHAPTER 22

1. *gratum habitum obiectis cum ad, etc.*, is Beyte's correction of *gratum habitum ad, etc.* (Fφ). Cp. *huius habitus* below. This correction is more forcible than that of Casaubon *habui cum*, though slightly less close to the MSS. But the omission of *obiectis* may be accounted for by the scribe's eye wandering from the final syllable of *habitum* to *cum*.

2. *peram et baculum*. Cp. the description of a cynic in Martial, iv. 53, 3 *cum baculo peraque senex*.

3. *tantus animi*. An extension of the genitive (originally locative) found with words like *furens*, *aeger*, *dubius*. Cp. Met. iv. 13 *quis tantus ingenii, quis facundiae?* See Kretschmann, p. 126.

4. *nihil quicquam*. See note on c. 7.

5. Crates succeeded Diogenes as the leading cynic. For his life see Diog. Laert. vi. 85, also Flor. 14 and 22. Cp. Teles. (p. 9. 10 Hense) καὶ τί ἔχει δυσχερὲς ἢ ἐπίπονον ἢ πενία; ἢ οὐ Κράτης καὶ Διογένης πένητες ᾗσαν;

Crates inquam. For repetition of the proper name with *inquam* cp. below *ipse inquam Hercules*.

9. **solitatem.** Ante- and post-classical for *solitudo*. It is quoted from Accius and Tertullian, while Apuleius uses it again in *Met.* ix. 18.

11. **perula.** Here used in its literal sense. For metaphorical use (= *uterus*) see *Met.* v. 14.

12. **Homericis uorsibus.** *Od.* xix. 172 Κρήτη τις γὰρ ἔστι μέσῳ ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ.

15. **πήρη τις κτλ.** The lines are preserved in full in *Diog. Laert.* vi. 85. They continue καλή καὶ πείρα, περίρρυτος, οὐδὲν ἔχουσα, | εἰς ἣν οὔτε τις εἰσπλεῖ ἀνὴρ μωρὸς παράσιτος, | οὔτε λίχνος πόρνης ἐπαγαλλόμενος πύγησιν. | ἀλλὰ θυμόν καὶ σκόρδα φέρει καὶ σῦκα καὶ ἄρτους, | ἐξ ὧν οὐ πολεμοῦσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τούτων, | οὐχ ὅπλα κέκτηνται περὶ κέρματος, οὐ περὶ δόξης. *F* gives κρήτη instead of πήρη, and after τύφῳ has the word τcontw. The explanation is simple. Just as κρήτη has crept in from a marginal gloss written to indicate more clearly the nature of the parody, so τcontw springs from a marginal gloss πόντῳ. See *Helm, Philol., loc. cit., p. 551.*

τύφῳ. Lit. 'smoke.' Then, as here, metaphorically = the folly of the world. Vallette points out that it was a technical term among stoics in this sense. Cp. *Dion. Prus. Or.* iv. 72 ἀλλ' ἂν ἀπαλλαγῇς τοῦ τύφου καὶ τῶν νῦν πραγμάτων ἔση βασιλεύς.

οἴνοπι suggests drunkenness.

16. **iam** = 'furthermore', giving a fresh item in a list or description. Cp. 27 *iam et illa similia*; *Met.* v. 1 *iam ceterae partes . . . coruscant*. So too, though not as the first word in the sentence, c. 30 *nec minus quae iam in opere serio scripsit*. In view of the passage cited from c. 27 there is no need with some editors to insert a verb to govern *cetera*.

17. **peram et baculum tu philosophis.** *Sc. exprobras.* But it hardly seems necessary to supply the verb in the text with *Krüger*. In English we can only supply a verb from a clause which has preceded, but owing to the postponement of verbs to the end of the sentence, it was possible in Latin to supply a verb from a succeeding sentence; e. g. *Cic. Tusc. i. 38 itaque credo equidem etiam alios tot saeculis; sed, quod litteris extet, Pherecydes Syrius primus dixit.* *Dräger i. 215.*

18. **phaleras . . . clipeos . . . uexilla.** These cannot be regarded as *dona militaria* in spite of the fact that the honours of a triumph are mentioned in the same context. *phalerae* and *uexilla* were, it is true, given as *dona militaria*, but not specially to *equites* or *signiferi*, while of the *clipeus* as a *donum militare* we have no evidence whatever. The words must therefore be taken in their most literal sense, 'horse-trappings', 'shields', 'standards'.

19. **ac** is *Helm's* correction of the meaningless *te Fφ*. *ac* and *te* might easily be confused in Lombard script. *ac* is therefore preferable to *et (v)*. *Dr. Purser* suggests *tu*.

quadrigas albas et togam palmatam. The car of the triumphant general was, in imperial times, drawn by white horses. This practice seems first to have been introduced by Camillus (Liv. v. 23. 5). The triumphant general wore the *tunica palmata* and the *toga picta*. See Plut. Aem. Paul. 34; Livy v. 41. 2 and x. 7. 9. Apuleius here confuses the two garments.

22. Antistheni. Antisthenes, the founder of the cynic school, flourished *circ.* 400 B.C. He was the teacher of Diogenes, for whom see below.

23. paludamentum. The general's cloak. Our equivalent would be 'the field-marshal's baton'.

24. galerum. Cp. Serv. ad Aen. ii. 683 *Suetonius tria genera pileorum dixit, quibus sacerdotes utuntur, apicem, tutulum, galerum. sed apicem pileum sutile circa medium uirga eminente, tutulum pileum lanatum metae figura, galerum pileum ex pelle hostiae caesae.* The word is usually masculine, as in Verg. Aen. vii. 688. But Servius on that passage quotes Fronto as using it in the neuter.

lituus. A curved stick with which the *augur* made the *descriptio regionum*. Cp. Cic. de Div. i. 17. 30; Livy i. 18. 7; Serv. ad Aen. vii. 187. For the inverted order in the last member of the enumeration cp. below *lustrator orbis, purgator ferarum, gentium domitor*, and c. 14 *luto uigor . . . omnibus*.

Diogenes . . . cum Alexandro magno de ueritate regni certabundus, etc. Diogenes, the well-known cynic, distinguished by his inordinate contempt of riches and the amenities of life, died 324 B.C. He is opposed to his contemporary Alexander the Great as the type of one who has renounced the world. Cp. Dion. Prus. Or. iv for a dialogue between the two. For his life see Diog. Laert. vi. 20. For the traditional attitude of Diogenes to Alexander see Plutarch, Alex. 14.

26. certabundus. ἀπ. λεγ.

27. Hercules. Cp. Flor. 22 for a very similar passage. Hercules was taken as the type of the ideal man by Antisthenes. Cp. Mullach, Fragm. phil. Graec. ii, p. 271 *Diogenes Laertius testatur tres fuisse liberos, quos ille Cynicorum patrono dedicasset*; sc. (vi. 1. 16) Ἡρακλῆς ὁ μείζων ἢ περὶ ἰσχύος: (ib. 18) Ἡρακλῆς ἢ Μίδας, Ἡρακλῆς ἢ περὶ φρονήσεως ἢ ἰσχύος. Cp. Teles. περὶ φυχῆς (p. 20, 8 Hense) Ἡρακλέα μὲν ὡς ἀριστον ἄνδρα γεγονότα ἐπαινοῦμεν τὸ δὲ μέτοικον εἶναι ὄνειδος ἡγοῦμεθα. Ἡρακλῆς δ' ἐξ Ἀργεῶν ἐκπεσὼν Θήβῃσι μετώκει.

mendicabula, 'beggars'. The word is ante- and post-classical. Cp. Plaut. Aul. 703; Apul. Met. ix. 4 *circumforaneum mendicabulum*. Perhaps a colloquial form of abuse; cp. *frutex, lurco, etc.* in Apuleius.

28. lustrator . . . purgator . . . domitor. For the chain of words ending in *-tor* cp. Flor. 16 *et patruus obiurgator et sodalis*

APVLEI APOLOGIA

opitulator et miles praeliator; 18 *primus repertor* . . . *certissimus explorator* . . . *peritissimus contemplator*. See Koziol, p. 208. *lustrator* does not seem to occur elsewhere with the sense 'ranger'.

29. *purgator*. For this word as applied to Hercules cp. Flor. 22 *quod Herculem olim poetae memorant monstra illa immania hominum ac ferarum uirtute subegisse, orbemque terrae purgasse*. Similarly the Greeks use the word καθαίρειν in connexion with his labours. *purgator* is not found before Apuleius.

is. Cp. note on c. 2, l. 3 *eam solum delegit*.

30. *prius quam* . . . *ascitus est*. See note on c. 2 *prius quam causa ageretur*.

31. *pellī*. Sc. the lion's skin. For this ablative cp. Lucr. vi. 1270 *pellī super ossibus una*. So too *fini* de D. Socr. 3; *parti* Apol. 42.

uestitiō. The comparative is found also in Tertull. de Anima 38, the superlative in Columella vii. 3. 8; Neue, Formenlehre, ii. 241.

baculo. Sc. the club of Hercules.

CHAPTER 23

4. *idque*. The neuter singular is used after a sum of money; cp. 71 *mater sestertium quadragiens possidebat: ex quo sane aliquantam pecuniam debebat*. Leky (p. 13) describes this as an idiom of vulgar speech, and quotes Plaut. Trin. 403 *minas quadraginta accepisti a Callicle . . . quid factum est eo?*

5. *peregrinatione*. The only places outside his native land which we know from his writings that he visited are Rome (Flor. 17), Samos (ib. 15 *si recte recordor uiam*), Athens (ib. 18 and Apol. 72) Hierapolis in Phrygia (de M. 17). See Introd., p. x.

modice. Casaubon rightly held the view that Apuleius did not intend to acknowledge the poverty with which his accusers charge him. That is to say his argument will be: 'Poverty is a most honourable thing and would be no reproach to me. But if you want hard facts instead of a disquisition on the theme of poverty, here they are. I once was rich, but have impaired my patrimony by my travels in search of wisdom and by my generosity.' Purser (Hermathena, xiv, No. 33, p. 372) argues that we should expect Apuleius to say, 'True, I was poor when I came to Oea; but I was born of a rich family, and my poverty was due to honourable causes.' He therefore proposes to read *immodice*. But the change is needless. There is no difficulty in the argument as outlined by Casaubon. The disquisition on poverty was part of the rhetorician's stock-in-trade, and does after all meet the accusation. For the purpose of

the disquisition it makes no difference whether Apuleius was actually rich or poor.

6. *tuli . . . retuli*. Cp. note on c. 15 *iurganti . . . obiurganti*.

9. *quod maius est contemptu patrimonii*. Helm retains this, the reading of *Fφ*, and remarks, 'quo in enuntiatio neque "contemptum" legendum est—inepte enim dicitur aliquis vel omni contempto patrimonio contemptum eius sibi parare, sed parare sibi vult quod maius est patrimonio, i. e. animi sanitatem—neque "contemptu" a comparativo "maius" pendet, ad quem "patrimonio" vel "divitiis" potius mente audias, sed repetit idem quod modo verbis "vel universum patrimonium impendere" expressit.' His argument justifies the retention of the reading of *Fφ*, though *contemptu patrimonii* might be expected to come earlier in the sentence, if only to avoid ambiguity. He overstates his case, however, in dismissing *contemptum* (codd. Vat. 2193 and 3384) as weak and impossible. No more natural statement could be made by one who is maintaining the Cynic paradox of the worthlessness of riches. But no change is actually necessary.

10. *id genus*. Cp. note on c. 3 *rabulis id genus*; here used redundantly with *uti tu . . . agrestes*.

11. *tanti . . . estis quantum habetis*. A proverb. Cp. an unknown poet cited by Sen. Ep. 115. 14 *ubique tanti quisque quantum habuit fuit*; Hor. S. i. 1. 62 *quia tanti quantum habeas sis*; Lucil. (incert. Marx 1119) *tantum habeas, tantum ipse sis tantique habearis*.

13. *quantum lignum eius in trunco*, 'its price as timber'. Kronenberg's suggestion *quantum* is needless, though the sense is good, sc. 'is only worth the amount of timber in its trunk': it has the further merit of providing exact symmetry with *tanti estis quantum habetis*.

14. *parce . . . obiectare*. The infinitive with *parco* is fairly frequent in ante-classical Latin (Cato, R. R. 1; Plaut. Bacch. 910; Pers. 312; Ter. Hec. 282). In classical Latin it appears only in poetry and once in Livy (xxxiv. 32 *proinde parce, sis, fidem ac iura societatis iactare*).

15. *nuper usque*. Cp. c. 16, note.

Zarathensem. Cp. *illud tuum Atticum Zarath* (24). The site is unknown. From the contempt with which Apuleius speaks of it, it is presumably a small village near Oea. It can have nothing to do with the Mauretanian Zaratha mentioned by Ptolemy.

16. *asello*. The diminutive is chosen for the sake of assonance with *agellum*. It has not necessarily a diminutive force in Apuleius. Cp. Met. viii. 29, etc.

ad tempestium imbrem. The soil was too hard to plough without oxen. Aemilianus had no beast available save the ass, and had to wait for rain. Cp. Plin. xvii. 41 *contra in Byzacio Africae illum centena quinquagena fruge fertilem campum, nullis, cum*

siccus est, arabilem tauris, post imbres, uili asello, et a parte altera iugi anu uomerem trahente uidimus scindi.

17. triduo. The farm was small (*agellum*), but it took three days for Aemilianus and his *asellus* to plough it.

neque enim diu est cum, 'for it is not long since'. Cp. Met. i. 24 *sat pol diu est quod interuisimus te*; Plaut. Amph. 302; Asin. 251 *iam diu factum est cum discesti*; Merc. 541.

19. Charon. Cp. c. 56; Aen. vi. 299. For Charon's love of money see Met. vi. 18 *ergo et inter mortuos auaritia uiuit nec quicquam . . . gratuito facit*.

CHAPTER 24

1. De patria. Cp. c. 5 ad init. *de eloquentia*, note.

Numidia et Gaetuliae in ipso confinio . . . Seminumidam et Semigaetulum. Apuleius was born at Madaura (see note below on *splendidissima colonia*). Madaura is in the south of Numidia, while the whole of the country south of Africa, Numidia and Mauretania, is loosely styled Gaetulia. Cp. Strabo, ii. 5. 33; xvi. 3. 2. Gaetulia and Numidia are similarly associated by Sallust, Jug. 19 *Gaetulorum magna pars et Numidae usque ad flumen Muluccham sub Iugurtha erant*. Strictly speaking Gaetulia is the district south of Mauretania. The Gaetuli are the modern Berbers.

2. *ostendistis* is Rohde's emendation of the MSS. *ostendi scis*, Casaubon having previously conjectured *ostendisti*. Apuleius sometimes speaks of his accusers and sometimes deals simply with one accuser. Cp. 25 *ostenditis*, 43 *nominastis*, and on the other hand 27, 40, 41 *inquit*. But *ostendistis* is a letter nearer the MSS. Wilmanns (C. I. L. viii. 1, p. 472) suggests *ostendis scilicet quibus*, which involves very little further change and may be right.

3. **Lolliano Auito.** Lollianus Avitus was consul in A.D. 144. As ten to thirteen years generally elapsed between consulate and proconsulate, he was probably proconsul A.D. 154-7. He was Claudius' immediate predecessor. Cp. c. 94 *ubi iam prope exacto consulatus sui munere Lollianus Auitus te, Maxime, opperiebatur*. See note on *Claudius Maximus*, c. 1.

cum . . . publice dissererem. This discourse, like that on Aesculapius mentioned in c. 55, had been committed to writing (cp. *meis scriptis* above). There is no evidence where it was delivered. It may have been declaimed at Oea, though it can hardly be identical with the discourse mentioned in c. 73. Vallette (op. cit., p. 9, n. 2) goes too far when he says, 'les adversaires d'Apulée le connaissent, semble-t-il, non pour l'avoir entendu, mais pour l'avoir lu (cf. *meis scriptis ostendistis*).' But there is nothing

impossible in his view that it was delivered elsewhere, e. g. at Carthage. Apuleius occasionally made excursions from Oea; cp. c. 41 *me non negabunt in Gaetuliae mediterraneis montibus fuisse*. The fact that this discourse was delivered before Lollianus Avitus, Claudius' predecessor, shows that it was delivered not more than two years before the trial, as the proconsul only held office for a year.

5. **haud magis.** *magis* is Van der Vliet's correction for *minus* Fφ. *minus* gives exactly the opposite sense to that which is required. Helm attempts to defend *minus* as follows: 'interpretandum: mihi haud minus ignotum quid mihi pudendum sit quam Cyro.' He further cites Gertz, Stud. crit. in Sen., pp. 62 sqq. The instances cited there as showing that *haud minus quam* and *haud magis quam* are often interchangeable in Seneca are hardly relevant to the present passage. It is exceedingly difficult, though not impossible, to get the sense suggested by Helm from the Latin, and emendation seems necessary. Sauppe would delete *quam*, while H. Müller would read *inquam*. Both these changes make the Latin very abrupt, and Van der Vliet's correction is preferable.

6. **Semimedes ac Semipersa.** Cyrus the Great, founder of the Persian empire, was the son of the Persian Cambyses and Mandane, daughter of Astyages, king of Media. Cp. Herodot. i. 107 sqq.

8. **uitam uiuere.** In classical Latin *uitam* is only used as an internal accusative with *uiuere* when it has an adjective in agreement with it. Cp. Cic. Verr. ii. 2. 47. 118 *quo tutiorem sese uitam uicturos esse arbitrarentur*. But cp. Plaut. Pers. 346 *modice et modeste meliust uitam uiuere*; Merc. 473. See Koziol, p. 127; Brock, p. 226.

10. **uinum Thasium.** A famous wine; cp. Plin. xiv. 73, where it is ranked with Chian.

11. **holus Phliasium.** The vegetables of Phlius seem not to be celebrated elsewhere. But Phlius (in Achaea, near Sicyon) was famous for its wine, and its plain is extraordinarily fertile; cp. Frazer's Pausanias, iii, p. 77.

16. **quando non in omnibus gentibus, etc.** Cp. Juv. x. 48 *cuius prudentia monstrat / summos posse uiros et magna exempla duros / ueruecum in patria crassoque sub aere nasci*.

18. **Anacharsis.** A Scythian prince who travelled far in search of knowledge. He came to Athens in the time of Solon and created a great impression by his wisdom. Cp. Herod. iv. 46, 76, 77; Diog. Laert. i. 101; Lucian, *Scytha* and *Anacharsis*; Themistius *Ἀνάχαρσιν δὲ τὸν Σκύθην πάντων ἀκούεις ὅτι καὶ σοφὸς ἦν καὶ Σκύθης*.

19. **Athenienses catos.** Cp. Met. x. 33 *Athenienses catos et omnis scientiae magistros*.

Meletides (or more often *Melitides*) was an Athenian of proverbial stupidity, whose name was synonymous for blockhead. Eustathius on Odys. x. 552 says that he could not count above

five or distinguish between his father and his mother. Cp. also Ar. Ran. 991.

nec hoc eo dixi quo . . . poeniteret. Cp. Cic. Quint. 2. 5 *Non eo dico, C. Aquilli, quo mihi ueniat in dubium tua fides et constantia.*

20. **Syfacis.** Syphax, king of the Massaesyli, the westernmost tribe of the Numidians, joined the Carthaginians against the Romans during the second Punic war in 204 B.C., when Scipio landed in Africa. He was utterly defeated and captured by the Romans, and his kingdom was given to Masinissa, king of the Massyli, the easternmost tribe of Numidia.

22. **munere populi Romani.** *F* reads *munere poplis*, ϕ corrects to *PR*. This is noteworthy as being the sole passage in the Apologia where ϕ 's correction of *F* seems to suggest possible access to other MS. tradition. There is no doubt as to *F*'s reading, which is clearly in the original hand without trace of erasure.

23. **conditu**, in the sense of 'foundation', is post-classical and very rare. This seems to be the first example of its occurrence.

splendidissima colonia. It is generally and rightly assumed that Apuleius was born at Madaura: see Introd., p. vii. That Madaura was a *colonia* is attested by C. I. L. (Madaura) viii. 4672 GENIO COLONIAE. *splendidissima* is common as an honorific epithet. Cp. Tac. Germ. 41. 1 *splendidissima Rhaetiae prouinciae colonia.*

24. **in qua colonia.** For the repetition of *colonia* with the relative cp. Met. ii. 4 *canes . . . qui canes et ipsi lapis erant*; ii. 31 *sollemnis dies quo die*; xi. 5 *diem qui dies*; D. Socr. 22 *cultum qui cultus*. The same kind of repetition is found in Cicero, especially with *dies*; cp. Att. ii. 11. 1; Cat. i. 3. 7; Caecil. 1. 2; Mil. 20. 53; Rosc. Am. 26. 72. It is commoner in Caesar.

loco principis duumviralem. The *duumviri* were the chief magistrates of the *colonia*. For the various offices held by a distinguished citizen of Madaura cp. C. I. L. viii. 4681. Apuleius uses the adjective *duumviralis* because his father did not hold the office at the time of his death. He had held the office and ranked as the foremost citizen of the place.

26. **participare curiam.** The sons of *decuriones* were admitted to the local senate as *praetextati*, but had no voice in the actual deliberations of that body (Marquardt, Staatsverf., i², pp. 190 sqq.). Apuleius does not seem to have held any magisterial office at any time; cp. Aug. Ep. cxxxviii. 19 *non ad aliquam quidem iudiciariam reipublicae potestatem . . . potuit peruenire. cuius ego locum tueor* does not therefore refer to any definite office, but merely to the prestige derived from his father. This use of *participare* with the accusative (= participate in) is ante- and post-classical. It is found in Ennius, Gellius, and the Digest, as well as in Apuleius; cp. c. 14 *uarias habitudines corporis participat*; 47 *sacrum magicum parti-*

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 24, 25

cipant; 55 *initia in Graecia participauit*. For other constructions with this verb in Apuleius see Met. ix. 33 and viii. 9.

30. *Zarath*. *F*φ give *Zarat*, but the adjective in c. 23 is *Zarathensis*, which suggests that *Zarath* is the correct spelling here.

CHAPTER 25

1. *puditum est*. This form of the perfect, as though from *pudetur* (Petr. 47 has *pudeatur*), is used by Apuleius also in Flor. 3 ad fin. and 9. Cp. also Plaut. Bacch. 379; Cas. 878; Cic. Flacc. 22. 52; Arnob. v. 29. In Met. viii. 2 Apuleius has the other form *puduit*.

4. *peram et baculum*. See c. 22.

austeritatem is Fulvius' correction of the MSS. *auctoritatem*. A less complimentary word than *auctoritas* is required and Fulvius' correction involves a minimum of change.

carmina et speculum. cc. 9 and 13.

5. *unum seruum*. c. 17.

6. *eloquentiam Graecam*. c. 4.

patriam barbaram. c. 24.

11. *artis nefandas*. *ars* is a word very commonly applied to magic, as to-day we speak of the 'black art'. Apuleius uses it twice again in this speech: cc. 41 and 80. Abt (pp. 104-5) collects the adjectives applied to it in this sense (as *nefandae* here), quoting from Ammianus *pravae, nefariae, malae, secretae, interdictae*. He quotes also the Pseudo-Quint. Decl. x. 15, where a magician is described as one *cuius ars est ire contra naturam*.

14. *ad inuidiam mei*. In c. 68 Apuleius has *ad inuidiam meam*. He uses the forms *mei, tui, sui, nostri* more than any other Latin writer, although, as in the passage quoted, he is ready to use the possessive adjective to take the place of an objective genitive. Cp. Met. vi. 8 *tuas inquisitiones*. In this speech he has *accusationem mei* three times (cc. 1, 4, 99), *ad usum sui* (21), *uertigine sui* (45), *principio sui* (82). See Dräger, i. 472; Kretschmann, p. 89.

15. *anilis fabulas*. Cp. 1 Tim. iv. 7 γρηώδεις μύθους.

defraglavit. The letters *l* and *r* often changed places in vulgar Latin, as the Neapolitan says *grolia* for *gloria*: the fact that the same spelling is found in other writers of the second and third centuries, Fronto, Cyprian, and Arnobius, indicates that it was a peculiarity of the authors rather than of the copyists of the MSS. Wölfflin, Archiv f. l. Lex. iv. 8, vi. 4.

17. *sed enim* is found in eight other passages in this speech (cc. 31, 33, 53, 56, 64, 77, 81, 85). *enim* strengthens the force of the preceding particle: it is used similarly in the speech with *at* and *uel* and in the Met. with *quod*.

18. *em tibi*. For the dative with *em* cp. 63 *em uobis quem*

APVLEI APOLOGIA

scelestus ille sceletum nominabat. The usage is frequent in Plautus.

21. *destinata*, 'focussed'. The word is a favourite with Apuleius, who often uses it with the sense of 'fixed' or 'attached' with nothing of the significance of 'destined' or 'intended'. Cp. Met. iv. 7 ; vi. 27.

25. *magus*. The name *magus* (Old Persian *magu-s*), applied to all workers of miracles, strictly designates the priests of Mazdeism, and well-attested tradition made certain Persians the inventors of genuine magic, the magic which the Middle Ages styled the black art. If they did not invent it, for it is as old as humanity, they were at least the first to give magic a doctrinal basis and to assign it a place in a well-defined theological system. . . . By the Alexandrian period books attributed to Zoroaster, Hostanes, and Hystaspes were translated into Greek.' Cumont, *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, p. 227. Cp. Plin. xxx. 3 ; Dio Prus. xxxvi. 41 ; Cic. Div. i. 23. 46.

quod tandem est. Cp. c. 14 ad init. *quod tandem crimen est.* *tamen* (Fφ) is indefensible.

26. *nosse*. The reading of the first hand of *F* is *nosce*, which may conceal either *nosse* (φ) or *noscere* (cod. Laur. 54. 13).

nosse atque scire atque callere. For this combination cp. Plaut. Pers. 176 *memini et scio et calleo et commemini*.

29. *regno adolescentem*. φ is right in spelling thus, for *adolescentem* is certainly the participle in this phrase, meaning 'growing up to bear rule'. The dative is, however, difficult. It seems to contain in a condensed form the idea of such a sentence as the following from Fronto (Ep. ad M. iv. 1, p. 59, N.) *ad munia militiae fungenda adolesceret*. Either *in* or *ad* with the accusative would have been normal.

31. *δὲς ἐπὶ τὰ δὲ κτλ.* From Plato, Alc. i, p. 121 E.

34. *σωφρονίστατος*. *F* gives *σωφρονίστατος*, which may be what Apuleius actually wrote. Helm compares *ἀλαζονίστατον*, Plat. Phil. 65' C.

35. *Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Ὀρομάζου*. Oromasdes is identical with the god Ormazd, though Apuleius clearly regards him as a man.

CHAPTER 26

3. *pergnaram*, 'well versed in'. The word only appears here and in a passage quoted from Sallust (Fr. ap. Non. 554. 21) *locorum pergnari*.

diuini. A rare use of the neuter of *diuinus* = τὸ θεῖον. Cp. c. 56 and Met. ix. 29.

4. *Zoroastre*. The evidence on which Van der Vliet alters the reading to *Zoroastro* is not satisfactory. The accusative in Apuleius

is *Zoroastren* (90), while in Flor. 15 *Fϕ* read *Zoroasten*. The genitive is *Zoroastri* (26 and 31), but that does not prove the noun to be of the second declension. The genitive of Greek names in *-es* usually ends in *-i* in Apuleius. Cp. *Vlixī* (three times in Apologia), *Empedocli*, *Socrati*, *Aristoteli* (twice). The only examples of genitives in *-is* in the Apologia are *Diogenis* (9) and *Aristotelis* (36). The fact that in Plato *Zoroastres* seems to be of the first declension does not bear on the question.

5. *quippe qui . . . docetur*. See note on c. 3.

regalia. ἀπ. λεγ. in this sense; sc. a translation of τὰ βασιλικά.

7. Plato. Sc. Charmides, p. 157 A. Socrates offers to Charmides to cure the headache. But the charm will do more than cure the headache. It has been learnt from one of the physicians of the Thracian king, Zamolxis. It is no use trying to cure the body without trying to cure the soul, θεραπεύεσθαι δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔφη, ὦ μακάριε, ἐπωδαῖς τισὶ τὰς δ' ἐπωδὰς ταύτας τοὺς λόγους εἶναι τοὺς καλοὺς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων, ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς σωφροσύνην ἐγγίγνεσθαι, ἧς ἐγγενομένης καὶ παρούσης ῥάδιον ἦδη εἶναι τὴν ὑγίειαν καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ σώματι πορίζειν. Apuleius makes a most unscrupulous use of Plato's words.

sermocinatione = διαλόγῳ. Cp. Quint. ix. 2. 31 *sermōnes homines assimulatos dicere* διαλόγους μαλυντ, *quod Latinorum quidam dixerunt sermocinationem*. The word is very rare.

Zalmoxis (sometimes *Zamolxis*) was probably an indigenous deity of the Getae. Greek legend makes him a Getan slave of Pythagoras, who on manumission went home, became priest of the chief deity of the Getae, and taught the Pythagorean doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Cp. Herodot. iv. 94-5; Iambl. Vit. Pyth. 173; Diog. Laert. viii. 2.

8. *Thraci generis*. The adjective *Thracus* is used instead of *Thrax* in Gellius (x. 25. 4; xix. 12. 6 and 7) and Valerius Flaccus (ii. 202). See Neue, Formenlehre, i. 495.

11. *sacerdotia*, 'the priestly craft'. The use of the word in this sense seems unique. Perhaps a translation of τὰ ἱερατικά.

13. *incredibili* is obviously better than the MSS. *incredibiliu*. The reading of the MSS. weakens the force of *omnia quae uelit*, and the position of *quadam* between adjective and noun is very frequent. We have the expression almost repeated in de Deo Socr. 3 *incredibili quadam nimietate*. Cp. also Apol. 27 *communi quodam errore*; 49 *caelesti quodam facundia*, etc.

14. *cantaminum*. The word is frequently used by Apuleius (five times in this speech). Before him it is only found in Prop. iv. 4. 51.

18. *cibatur*. The active appears in Columella and Suetonius, the passive form ('to take food') only here and in Livy, Epit. 19.

22. *id genus crimen*. Cp. note on c. 3 *rabulis id genus*.

2. **partim.** Here the accusative. Cp. note on c. 56.

4. **Anaxagoram.** Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, born about 499 B.C. He came to Athens and had great influence there, being the friend of Pericles and Euripides. He was banished for unorthodoxy and died at Lampsacus, aged 72. See Diog. Laert. ii. 6.

Leucippum. Leucippus, the founder of the atomic theory. The date and place of his birth are uncertain. But he is earlier than Democritus (born *circ.* 460 B.C.). His existence has been doubted, but wrongly. See Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, p. 350.

Democritum. Democritus of Abdera developed the atomic theory of Leucippus. Apuleius might have added him to the list of philosophers suspected of magic; cp. Plin. xxx. 9; Gell. x. 12, etc. See Abt, 326.

5. **Epicurum.** Epicurus still further developed the atomic theory. Leucippus, Democritus, and Epicurus must, by the very fact of the theory which they preached, have laid themselves open to the charge of atheism. Epicurus did not deny the existence of the gods, but placed them apart from our world and denied that they had interest in or influence upon the affairs of men.

rerum naturae patronos. The expression is rather suggestive of Hor. Od. i. 28. 14 *non sordidus auctor naturae*. Apuleius was fond of legal terminology and especially affects the word *patrocinium*. Cp. Apol. 34 *eloquentiae patrocinium*; Met. v. 31, xi. 28 and 30.

6. **providentiam mundi.** For this objective genitive, which is rare, cp. Dig. xxxiii. 1. 7 fin. *providentia filiorum suorum*. The word *providentia* is a favourite with Apuleius.

9. **Epimenides et Orpheus et Pythagoras et Ostanen.** Many of the great philosophers and sages of antiquity came to be regarded as magicians. Epimenides, seer and prophet of Crete, seems in actual fact to have been a blend of philosopher and medicine-man. This appears to be the sole reference to him as a magician. See Diog. Laert. i. 109.

Orpheus, legendary poet, musician, and sage, and founder of the Orphic mysteries, early appears as a magician. Thrace was especially connected with magic. Cp. Eur. Alc. 968; Cycl. 639; Paus. vi. 20. 18; Plin. xxx. 2; Strabo viii, p. 18. For charms attributed to Orpheus see Orphica (Abel) 172-81. See Abt, 327.

Pythagoras passed for a disciple of Zoroaster and a student of the wisdom of the East. See Jambl. Vit. Pyth. xix. 151; Plut. Qu. Conv. viii. 8; Val. Max. viii. 7. 7. See Abt, 328.

Ostanen. See note on c. 90 *Ostanen*.

10. **Empedocli catharmoe.** Empedocles of Agrigentum (*flor. circ.* 450 B.C.) wrote a poem of 3,000 lines, entitled 'Purifications' (*κάθαρμοι*). None of the passages preserved from this work are of

a definitely magical nature. (The passage cited below comes probably from the work on 'Nature'.) But he had a 'good deal of the medicine-man about him' (Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*, p. 212). He was regarded as a magician; cp. Diog. Laert. viii. 59 τοῦτόν (sc. Gorgias) φησιν ὁ Σάτυρος λέγειν ὡς αὐτὸς παρείη τῷ Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ γοητεύοντι ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι τοῦτό τε καὶ ἄλλα πλείω δι' ὧν φησι φάρμακα δ' ὅσσα γεγᾶσι κακῶν καὶ γήραος ἄλκαρ | πεύση, ἐπεὶ μούνῳ σοὶ ἐγὼ κρανέω τάδε πάντα. | παύσεις δ' ἀκαμάτων ἀνέμων μένος κτλ.

Socrati daemonion. The divine sign or voice, which is represented by Socrates as having guided his actions, is never spoken of by him in terms that would lead us to assume that he regarded it as a familiar spirit, though it is so treated by later writers, e.g. Plut. de gen. Socratis; Apuleius, de Deo Socr. For the genitives *Empedocli* and *Socrati* see note on *Zoroastre*, c. 26.

11. Platonis τὸ ἀγαθόν. For Plato as a magician cp. Plin. xxx. 9; Diog. Laert. iii. 7. This transformation of τὸ ἀγαθόν into a familiar spirit is due to the identification of the 'good' with the 'demiurge' in the *Timaeus*.

gratulor . . . cum adnumeror. Cp. note on c. 13 *habeo gratiam . . . cum audis*. Cp. Plaut. Truc. 517; Rud. 1178 and 1270; Cic. Fam. ix. 14. 3.

14. simpliciter uereor. *simpliciter* (Helm) for *simplicia* (Fφ). *simpliciter* = ἀπλῶς. We may take it (1) with *uereor*, 'frankly, I fear'; cp. 74 *simpliciter ignoui*: or (2) with *uana et inepta*, in which case the sense is, 'I fear that charges, weak and silly in themselves, will be believed merely because they are brought.' With the MSS. *simplicia* we must either add *et* or with Bywater read *inepte simplicia*. *simplex* = 'foolish' does not however occur elsewhere in Latin. Jahn (*haud uereor*) and Diels (*oro*) take *uereor* too seriously.

15. piscium quaedam genera quaesisti. See cc. 29 sqq.

16. cognitionis gratia . . . gulae causa. There seems to be no difference between *gratia* and *causa* when used separately, but where motives are contrasted *gratia* is used with the higher, *causa* with the lower of the two. Cp. 28 *officii gratia quam lucri causa*.

18. post annos XIII uiduitatis. See cc. 68 sqq. In c. 85 the years of widowhood are fourteen: in 68 nearly fourteen.

19. tot annis. See note on c. 72 *aliquam multis diebus decumbo*.

20. scripsit nescio quid. See cc. 82 sqq.

22. maior natu, etc. See c. 89.

25. iam et illa similia. Cp. c. 22 *iam cetera tam mirifica*, note. *habet quiddam*, etc. See cc. 53 sqq.

27. cecidit praesente Apuleio puer. See cc. 42 sqq.

29. lubrico soli. For this use of *lubricum* as a substantive with genitive dependent cp. Met. xi. 15 *lubrico uirentis aetatulae*; Tac.

Ann. i. 65 *illi lubrico paludum lapsantes*; vi. 49 *lubricum iuventae*; xiv. 56 *lubricum adulescentiae*; Plin. Ep. iii. 3. 4 *in hoc lubrico aetatis*.

31. *obsonio piscium*, etc. Three of the charges specified in this chapter are referred to here in the reverse order, but nothing is said about the object of Apuleius' private worship. Vahlen would add some words like *et cultu rei* after *pueruli*. See Herm. 1898, p. 258.

CHAPTER 28

1. *bono periculo*, 'without danger'. The phrase is post-classical. It appears again in cc. 57 and 72. Cp. also D. Socr. prol. 1 and 15; Met. iv. 6.

2. *largiter aquae*. For the substantival use with the genitive (like *satis*) cp. Plaut. Rud. 1188 *credo illic inesse argenti et auri largiter*; 1315 *largiter mercedis indipiscar*. The genitive goes naturally with the adjective *largus*. The *clepsydra* or water-clock was regularly employed in the law-courts. A number would be employed in the course of a speech, as the *clepsydra* employed for this purpose was apparently emptied in fifteen minutes. Cp. Plin. Ep. ii. 11. 14. The amount of time allotted to orators varied at different times. The accused seems usually to have been allowed a third as much time again as the accuser: cp. Cic. Brut. 324; de Fin. iv. 1. 1; Plin. Ep. iv. 9. 9, where the accuser has six hours and the accused nine. The *clepsydra* was stopped during the reading of evidence. Cp. c. 37 *aquam sustine*; 94 ad fin. *at tu licebit aquam sinas fluere*.

10. *primum igitur argumenta*, etc. cc. 29-65.

conuincam ac refutabo . . . pertinere. The order need not be changed. The whole phrase means 'I shall prove in opposition to their contentions'. For the order cp. Min. Fel. Oct. 16. 5 *conuincam et redarguam, quamuis diuersa, quae dicta sunt*: but there the meaning is 'I will establish the falsity of their arguments, however varied they be'.

11. *dein etsi maxime*, etc. cc. 66-101.

15. *nequius interpretatis*. Cp. Met. xi. 6 *sequius interpretatus*. The passive use of the deponent participle is classical.

16. *officii gratia quam lucri causa*. For the facts see c. 73. For *quam* without a comparative ('rather than') cp. 82 *si quae simulationis causa dicta sunt adseuerantis pronuntiatione quam exprobrantis legantur*; 103 *possum securus existimationem tuam reuereri quam potestatem uereri*; Flor. 16 *emere uelis quam rogare*; Tac. Ann. i. 58 *pacem quam bellum probabam*; Liv. iii. 40. 2 *oratio fuit precibus quam iurgio similis*. See Dräger, ii. 646. For *gratia* . . . *causa* cp. note on last chapter.

18. *immane quanto*. As a rule we find only *immane quantum*, used *extra construct*. But Hildebrand cites from Amm. Marc. xxv. 8

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 27-29

immane quo quantoque ardore quisque festinabat. The full expression appears in Sall. Or. ad Caes. I *immane dictu est quanti et quam multi . . . discesserint.*

diuidiae, 'vexation'. Cp. the connexion of μέριμνα and μερίζω. The word is ante-classical, and occurs not infrequently in Plautus. Fulgentius also attributes it (564. 28) to Propertius in the line *diuidias mentis conficit omnis amor*: the line is not, however, found in Propertius' extant works.

19. *huiusce accusationis obeundae ira.* The objective genitive of cause with *ira*, here found with the gerundive, has several parallels with the past participle; e.g. Verg. Aen. ii. 413 *ereptae virginis ira*; Livy xxxvii. 51 *ira prouinciae ereptae*, and other passages in Livy.

23. *cuius obtentu et uoluntate.* See c. 2 *obtentu eius aetulae.*

24. *curae meae ereptum.* See c. 98 *relicta matre ad patrum commigravit.* *curae* may mean that Apuleius has held the legal position of curator to Pudens, a position now probably occupied by Aemilianus (cp. note on c. 2 *adscribit se assistere*). But there is no need to give the word such precise meaning. On the reading see Addenda.

25. *moribus melior.* Cp. c. 96.

27. *desertis liberalibus studiis.* Cp. c. 98 *cum a nobis regeretur, ad magistros itabat.*

28. *rudimentis.* A favourite word of Apuleius. Cp. c. 92; Met. vi. 6; vii. 14; Flor. 3.

CHAPTER 29

2. *deliramenta.* Ante- and post-classical. The word is found in Plautus, Pliny the elder, and Fronto.

5. *magian.* *F*ϕ give *magian* and *ϕ* gives it in c. 31. Very likely the Greek termination should be retained; the word is a new one, and Apuleius is fond of Greek accusatives for proper names, e.g. Demosthenen, Alexin. But he may have been inconsistent himself, as with *daemonion* (c. 27), -um (c. 63).

6. *scilicet . . . fuisse.* The infinitive is not exclamatory, but governed by *scilicet* (= *scire licet*), a construction frequent in the comic poets and found in Sallust and Lucretius, who also has *scire licet* for *scilicet* (ii. 809). Cp. 57 *scilicet eum . . . pinnas de penatibus suis aduectus aucupatum funum domus suae adgnouisse. uidelicet* (= *uidere licet*) also is found with an object-clause: cp. Lucr. i. 210; Plaut. Stich. 555; Cic. Att. v. 11 fin. In the archaistic revival of the second century both uses were resumed. Gellius has *scilicet* with the infinitive (vi. (vii.) 22. 1) and *uidelicet* with the infinitive (xvii. 5. 9).

phrygionibus, 'embroiderers in gold'. They were so called

because the Phrygians were particularly skilled in the art. Cp. Plin. viii. 195 *acu facere id Phryges inuenerunt: ideoque Phrygiones uocati sunt*.

8. *calumniis uestris uitare*. For this use of the dative instead of the accusative cp. Plaut. Poen. 25 *infortunio*; Curc. 298; Cas. 210 *huic uerbo*. The last example shows that it is not an ablative of separation. Apuleius uses the same construction with *deuito* in Flor. 21 *hisce igitur moramentis omnibus qui uolunt deuitare*.

10. *maleficio*. See note on c. 1. A dative of purpose is used here with *quaero* instead of the more usual accusative with *ad*, for which compare the next chapter *quaeri ad hanc rem*. The object seems to be to secure an apparent parallel (in sound but not in sense) to *pretio* (abl.) in the corresponding clause. See Introd., p. 1.

pisciculos. Not a contemptuous diminutive, but rather to be taken literally. Cp. *hunc adeo pisciculum*, c. 40.

14. *cuppedinariis*. From *cuppedo* (see Met. i. 24 *forum cuppedinis*). The word occurs in Ter. Eun. 256, where Donatus explains *qui esculenta et poculenta uendunt, a rebus cupidinis ob alimentum cupidinarii appellantur*. It reappears in Lamprid. Heliog. xxx. 1 *pinxit se ut cuppedinarium*.

16. *edulia*. Abt (p. 136) points out that *edulia* were often used for magical purposes. The fact has, however, little or no bearing on so obvious an argument as that used here by Apuleius. The fact is that practically everything has at some time or other been used for magical or apotropaic purposes.

depenso. ἀπ. λεγ. as an adverb. See Introd., p. lxii.

18. *ad quod solent ad piscem capiundum*. Both here and in c. 68 (*cum quo iubebatur, cum Sicinio Claro*) the use of the clause to define the relative need cause no suspicion. Van der Vliet brackets both as interpolated; but Apuleius loves the use of words which are not absolutely necessary for the sake of clearness, and Vahlen justly says of those who would remove them *Apuleium uelle ex Apuleio pellere uidentur*.

19. *nullos . . . nulli*. A conversational use instead of *non* to give emphasis. It is fairly frequent in the comic poets, e.g. Plaut. Trin. 606 *nullus creduas*; Asin. 408 *is nullus uenit*; Ter. And. 370; Hec. 79; Eun. 216 *nullus moneas*. So also occasionally in Cicero's letters, e.g. Att. xi. 24. 4 *Philotimus nullus uenit*. Cp. Met. vii. 17 *nullus tamen desinebat . . . obtundere*; viii. 19 *an nulli scitis quo loco consederitis*? ix. 30 *nullus respondit dominus*.

20. *quippe qui*. See note on c. 3.

nulli fuerunt: i.e. he had never commissioned fishermen to get him the particular fish mentioned by the accusers. That he had given a general commission to fishermen is clear from c. 33 *non piscatoribus modo, etc.* His argument is not convincing.

24. *proximo signo*. See note on c. 9 *proximum argumentum*.

CHAPTER 30

3. *leporis uel apros uel altilia*. Mentioned here as typical dainties. Cp. Mart. vii. 78. 3; Petr. 36. But the hare plays a prominent part in empirical medicine and popular superstition. Pliny mentions it as a specific against gout: N. H. xxviii. 220 *podagras quidem mitigari pede leporis uiuentis abscisso, siquis secum adsidue habeat*; as of value in childbirth and for promoting fertility, N. H. xxviii. 248; as a soporific and as producing beauty, N. H. xxviii. 260. The hare and boar also played their part in love-philtres: for the former see Philostr. imag. ii. 304 οἱ δὲ ἄτοποι τῶν ἐραστῶν καὶ πειθῶ τινα ἐρωτικὴν ἐν αὐτῷ (sc. τῷ λαγῷ) κατέγνωσαν βιαίῳ τέχνῃ τὰ παιδικὰ θηρώμενοι, for the latter Pap. Lond. 121. 191 φιλτροκατάδεσμος αἰώνιος. χολῆς κάπρον ἀλὸς ἀμμωνιακοῦ μέλιτος Ἀττικοῦ ὁμοῦ τρίψον. See Abt, pp. 137-8. At the same time it must be noticed that in this context Apuleius is mentioning viands that would not be suspected of employment in magic.

4. *hoc si scis quid sit, magus es profecto*. The argument is simply, 'I do not know of fish that are useful for magic (cp. *quid enim competit* below). Therefore, if you do know of such fish, it is clear that you, rather than I, are the magician.'

9. *piscis*. The association of fishes with love-magic is apparently not very close. But the *τρίγλη* was the fish of Hecate διὰ τὴν τοῦ ὀνόματος οἰκειότητα (Apollodor. frag. 16; F. H. G. i. 431), *τρίγλη* apparently suggesting the name of the goddess of the 'Crossways'. Aphrodite's sacred fish is the *ἰχθυόνη* (Athen. vii. 284); the dolphin is *uenereus* (Gell. vii. 8). The *echeneis* is *amatoriis quoque ueneficiis infamis* (Plin. ix. 79). See Abt, p. 142. There follow in Abt other uses of fish in love-magic. Cp. especially Griffith-Thompson, Pap., col. xii, p. 91 (27) and col. xii (4), p. 87.

14. *ille enim enumerat*. Sc. Ecl. viii. 69 sqq.

15. *uittas mollis*. These are used in Vergil for the decoration or for the apotropaic protection of the altar on which the magic offering was laid, but do not otherwise appear in this connexion either in the magic of literature or in the Papyri. In the latter the *uittae* are the bands of wool worn by the priest: we find them in vase-paintings in company with the *Iynx* and magic wheel, so that they may play their part in love-magic. *taeniae* are among the *philtrea* enumerated in the quotation from Laevius in the same chapter. See Abt, pp. 144-5.

uerbenas pinguis. Sc. boughs of any tree used for religious purposes. From the Papyri we get instances of the use of boughs of olive, myrtle, and bay-tree: the last is specified below (*laurum fragilem*); see Abt, p. 145. The plant called vervain (*hierabotane*) was used for medical purposes. We learn from Pliny (N. H. xxv. 105-7) that it was a febrifuge, a general panacea for disease, and used *conciliare amicitias*. It had to be gathered *circa canis*

ortum ita ne luna aut sol conspiciat. Abt says that its magical reputation survived to mediaeval and even modern times.

tura mascula. The use of incense was regular in magical invocations. See Abt, p. 147. For the meaning of *masculus* cp. Pliny xii. 61 *quod ex eo rotunditate guttae pependit, masculum uocamus, cum alias non fere mas uocetur, ubi non sit femina. religioni tributum ut sexus alter usurparetur. masculum aliqui dicunt a specie testium dictum*; ib. 62 *Graeci stagoniam et atomum appellant. atomus = non exsectus.* Cp. Pap. Berl. ii. 24 sqq.; Par. 214 sqq., Athen. xi. 462 b λίβανον ἄτμητον. See Fahz, p. 123. It is possible that *masculus* simply indicates superiority. Cp. Diosc. de M. M. i. 81 *πρωτεύει δὲ ὁ ἄρρην.* The epithet has no magical or aphrodisiac significance, as the above passages show.

16. *licia discolora.* Theocr. ii. 2 has said *στέφον τὰν κελέβαν φοινικέφ οὐδὲς ἄωτφ*, but we have evidence that the various colours had their magical properties. Abt quotes a demotic papyrus (Griffith-Thompson, Pap., col. iii. 39 (33), 'You take a band of linen of 16 threads, 4 of white, 4 of (green), 4 of blue, 4 of red, and make them into one band . . . and you bind it on the body of the boy.' Coloured threads were known as amulets to the Greeks (see the references collected by Abt, p. 149) and to the Romans (e.g. Petr. 131). The explanation given by Servius on this passage is that the colours were red, white, and black, of which the latter especially was commonly used in magic.

discolora. Neuter plural of *discolorus*, a by-form of *discolor*, employed by Apuleius. See de M. 16 *corona non discolora.* In the same chapter he has the feminine *multicolora.* Vergil's phrase (loc. cit. 73) is *triplici diuersa colore / licia.*

laurum fragilem. In Vergil and Theocritus the bay is burnt to work mischief on the lover. Abt can give no parallel of this use: the nearest approach to it is quoted by him from the 'Sword of Moses' (ed. Gaster, p. 189. 128), 'To make another forget what he has learnt write (then follows a sacred name) in his name on laurel-leaves, and burn them under his lintel.' The bay would have a natural association with divination as being sacred to the god of divination, Apollo. See Abt, pp. 151-2. Theophrastus (Char. 16) makes the superstitious man take a bay-leaf in his mouth and so walk about all day: it was a charm against evil. Immisch compares Geop. xi. 2. 5 *ἐνθα ἂν ἡ δάφνη, ἐκποδὼν δαίμονες.*

limum durum. The reference is not to an image in clay of the *victim* of magic, as it would then double the function of the *cera liquabilis* mentioned immediately after. It is scarcely more likely that it is an image of the god to whom the magical incantations were addressed, such as is described in Pap. Lond. 121. 866 sqq. (see Abt, p. 154) and Lucian, Philops. 14, where an *ἐρώτιον* made of clay is bidden to fetch Chrysis and does so. For the sufferings of Daphnis are to synchronize with the hardening of this

COMMENTARY: CHAPTER 30

clay. It is probably the piece of earth on which the man's footprint is marked; while the persecutor is baking this, the victim is shrivelled (Abt, p. 154). For *durabilem* cp. Verg. loc. cit. 80 *limus ut hic durescit*. See Addenda.

17. *ceram*. The reference is to the well-known use of waxen images, whether of the beloved to be won, or the enemy to be slain, etc. See Abt, p. 156. Cp. Hor. Sat. i. 8. 30 *lanea et effigies erat, altera cerea: maior | lanea, quae poenis compesceret inferiorem; | cerea suppliciter stabat servilibus ut quae | iam peritura modis*. Also l. 43.

liquabilem. Cp. Verg. loc. cit. 80 *haec ut cera liquescit*. The word *liquabilis* is not found before Apuleius.

iam. Cp. note on c. 22 *iam cetera tam mirifica*.

in opere serio. Sc. Aen. iv. 513-15.

19. *falcibus . . . aenis*. Verg. Aen. iv. 513. Cp. Ov. Met. vii. 226, where Medea is collecting magic herbs: *et placita partim radice reuellit | partim succidit curuamine falcis aenae*. The use of bronze in magic is a survival from a ritual earlier than the iron age. Abt (p. 160) gives many examples of its use from the papyri and some from classical literature; e.g. Theocr. ii. 30; Macr. v. 19. 8; Ov. Fast. ii. 577. Similarly the use of iron was often prohibited where the efficacy of a charm was not to be impaired. Thus Pliny (N. H. xxiv. 176) says of a certain herb: *medetur et subus effossa sine ferro addita in conluuiem poturis uel ex lacte uel ex uino*. So the witches in Hor. Sat. i. 8. 26 use neither a spade nor a knife: *scalpere terram | unguibus et pullam diuellere mordicus agnam | coeperunt*.

ad lunam. Cp. c. 31 *Luna noctium conscia*.

21. *nascentis equi . . . amor*. The allusion is to the *hippomanes* or growth said to be found on the forehead of newborn foals. Unless prevented, the mother devoured it.

23. *insimulator*. First found in Apuleius.

25. *fundo*, 'from the fields'. For the play on the words *fundo . . . profundo* see note on c. 15 *iurganti . . . obiurganti*.

26. *inuncanda*. Ante- and post-classical: quoted only from Lucilius and Columella.

27. *in maleficio*, 'in the performance of magic rites'. See note on c. 1 *magicorum maleficiorum*.

29. *Theocriti*. Sc. ii. 18 sqq.

30. *Homeri*. Sc. Od. x. 236 and 305. See also c. 31 *passim*.

Orphei. Cp. Orphica (Abel), fr. 172 sqq.; Arg. 955 sqq.; Lith. 172 sqq.

comoediis. Abt (pp. 169-71) collects numerous references to magic from Greek comedy. We may note as specially concerned with magic the following plays: *Goetes* by Aristophanes, *Mandragorizomene* by Alexis, *Pharmacomanthis* by Anaxandrides, *Circe* by Anaxilas, and *Thettale* by Menander. There is a very complete

index of the magical rites and superstitions alluded to in Greek comedy in Amer. Journ. Phil. xviii. (1897), pp. 196-205.

tragoediis. As for instance the *Psychagogi* of Aeschylus, the *Rhizotomi* and *Colchides* of Sophocles. See Abt (pp. 171-3).

31. historiis. See Abt (pp. 173-4). He cites Herodot. v. 92. 7; Pherecydes Hist. Gr. Fr. i. 89; Aristotle, ib. ii. 146; Heracleides Ponticus, ib. ii. 197; Dicaearchus ib. ii. 266; Polyb. in Tim. ib. i. 210; Chaeremon Alex. ib. iii. 496, etc.

32. Graecam epistulam. Cp. cc. 82, 83 sqq.

34. en uorsus ipsos quos agnoscent. *en* is inserted by Pricaeus. Without it *uorsus ipsos* must be regarded as in loose apposition to *poetam Latinum*. This is exceedingly harsh and can hardly be paralleled. Pricaeus' conjecture is perhaps simpler than the omission of *quos* (Salmasius) or *uorsus ipsos quos dicam* (Rohde), but the latter is supported by the analogy of c. 39 *paucos uorsus memini, eos dicam*.

Laeuium. The MSS. give *Laelium*. But Laelius is not known to us as a poet, and we must read *Laeuium* with Lipsius. Laevius was born in 129 B.C. and was the advance guard of the Alexandrian movement at Rome. He wrote *Erotopaegnia*, from which this fragment may well come. He was famous for his love of bizarre and *recherché* diction. The metre is Iambic dimeter.

36. antipathes. ἀπ. λεγ., though *antipathe* (fem.) is found in Plin. xxxvii. 145 to describe a black coral sought as a preventive of witchcraft. This sense does not suit the context, and Abt (p. 177) is probably right in explaining *antipathes* as 'quod mutuum affectum prouocet'. He compares ἀντιπαθεῖς ἡδοαί (Ps. Lucian, Amores 27).

37. trochiscili. ἀπ. λεγ. The meaning is uncertain. *trochiscus* is used in the sense of a 'pill' by Cels. v. 17; Cael. Aur. Tard. ii. 7. 104; Veg. Vet. 2. 9 ad fin.; and the word *trochiscili* may bear that meaning here, though it lacks special point. Abt (p. 178) suggests that it means the 'magic wheel' familiar in Theocr. ii; Prop. ii. 28. 35, etc. All that can be said with confidence is that its association with *antipathes*, *ungues*, and *taeniae* points to its being something inanimate. None of the conjectures are worth consideration.

ungues. The parings of the nails of the beloved might be used to put a spell upon him or her. Cp. Thomas Ebendorf von Haselbach (1439) cited by Abt (p. 180) *item grauissime peccant qui per uestes hominis uel crines uel unguis uel herbas procurare uolunt alios ad sui amorem*.

taeniae. Identical with the *uittae molles* or the *licia discolora* cited from Vergil above. *taeniae* are often associated with the magic wheel on vases, e.g. Cat. Vases in Br. Mus., iv, F 331, p. 165 b, etc. See Abt, p. 145.

38. radiculae, herbae, surculi. Any form of herb used in magic. Cp. the Greek ῥιζοτόμος = wizard.

39. **saurae inlices bicodulae.** For the use of two-tailed lizards in magic cp. a passage cited by Abt from a demotic papyrus (Griffith-Thompson, col. xiii (23), p. 97): 'You put a two-tailed lizard into the oil and cook it, and anoint the man with it, then (he dies (?)).' This is not a love-charm, but cp. Schol. Ambros. ad Theocr. ii. 58, where the lizard used by Simaetha is described by the scholiast as *δύσκερκος*. Abt suggests that *δίσκερκος*, 'two-tailed', is the true reading. In any case the lizard in Theocritus is *illex*, as is shown by the *ἐλκε* which is found in ii. 57 and 63. See Abt, pp. 183-5.

40. **hinnientium dulcedines.** Probably the *hippomanes*, though not necessarily that which is described above in the passage cited from the Aeneid. The name was also given to a plant supposed to act as an aphrodisiac on mares (Serv. Geor. iii. 281; Theocr. ii. 48), and to a *uirus quod ex equae naturalibus profluere dicebatur ante coitum* (Solin. p. 195, II ff., ed. Mommsen; Verg. Georg. iii. 280).

CHAPTER 31

5. **nihil quicquam.** See note on c. 7 *nemo quisquam*.

adiutare. The word is common in Plautus and Terence, and is quoted from Accius and Pacuvius. It appears once in Lucretius. Cp. c. 32 *ad magicas potestates adiutare*.

6. **Pythagoram . . . peritum.** Cp. c. 27 *Pythagoras*, note. Also Flor. 15.

Zoroastri. Cp. note on c. 26 *Zoroastre*.

7. **memoriae prodiderunt.** Cp. Plut. Quaest. Conv. 8. probl. 8 *διὰ τί μάλιστα οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ ἐμψύχων τοὺς ἰχθύς παρητοῦντο*: p. 729 E *καίτοι βόλον ἰχθύων πρίασθαι ποτέ φασι τὸν Πυθαγόραν, εἴτ' ἀφείναι κελεύσαι τὴν σαγήνην, οὐχ ὥς ἀλλοφύλων καὶ πολεμίων ἀμελήσαντα τῶν ἰχθύων, ἀλλ' ὥς ὑπὲρ φίλων καὶ οἰκείων γεγονότων αἰχμαλώτων λύτρω καταβαλόντα*.

8. **proxime Metapontum.** Cp. Met. v. 25 *proxime ripam*. It is a Ciceronian use; cp. Att. i. 14. 3 *proxime Pompeium sedebam*.

9. **Italiae suae.** Pythagoras was a native of Samos, but made his name and exercised his chief influence in Italy.

subsiciuam. The word was originally a technical term of *agrimensores* = 'that which was cut off and left over in surveying lands'. So here it means 'supplementary', 'an annexe of Greece'. In Plaut. Men. 236 Magna Graecia is styled *Graecia exotica*.

10. **fortunam iactus eius.** A similar story is told of Pittacus in Val. Max. iv. 1. 7. Pittacus, however, secured a golden table.

12. **scilicet** might = *scire licet* (cp. c. 29): but *fuisse* here may be only the continuation of the *oratio obliqua*.

13. **si quid esse** is Plasberg's correction of *siquidem* (F). *si qd*

ēē (= *si quid esse*) might easily be corrupted into *si qdē*. For a similar corruption cp. c. 40, where *F* gives *potius ē* for *potius ēē*. The alternative is to read *si quid* with *φ*, though *φ* originally read *si quidē*.

15. **multiscium**. A word confined to Apuleius. Cp. Flor. 3 *arte multiscius*; Met. ix. 13; Flor. 9 and 18.

16. **adprime**. Very common in ante- and post-classical Latin, but appearing in only one passage of a classical writer; sc. Nep. Att. xiii. 3.

17. **ascripsisse** is Casaubon's correction of *scripsisset* (*Fφ*). The alternative is with Groslot to read *non maris sed terrae scripsisse*; cp. Hor. Ep. i. 9. 13 *scribe tui gregis hunc*. The phrase thus attributed to Apuleius is possible, but less natural than that used by Horace. But there is little to choose between the two readings.

de quadam saga. Agamede, Hom. Il. xi. 741.

20. **alibi carminum**. Apuleius has many extensions of the partitive genitive with adverbs of place. Besides the ordinary examples such as *ubi locorum*, etc., cp. 88 *nusquam sui*; 95 *undique sui*; Flor. 16 *alibi gentium et ciuitatium*. See Koziol, p. 141.

23. **pisculento**. Ante- and post-classical. It usually means 'abounding in fish'.

24. **Proteus faciem**, i.e. to cause his transformations. See Od. iv. 364 sqq.

Vlixes scrobem. Od. xi. 25 *scrobem*, the magic trench from which the shades drank blood.

25. **Aeolus**. Od. x. 19. *follem*, the bag containing the winds.

Helena. Od. iv. 221.

creterram. The bowl containing the distillation from the herb nepenthes. For the spelling *creterra* cp. Serv. Aen. i. 724; Prisc. Gramm. ii. 156. 5 and 217. 1. The form seems to be taken from the accusative of the Greek *κράτηρ*. The form in *-e* from the Ionic *κρήτηρ* is comparatively rare, but is the only form used by Apuleius (cp. Flor. 20). It is found in Naev. trag. 42; Varro, fr. ap. Non. p. 547. 23; Cic. Ep. ad Fam. vii. 1. 2; and perhaps in Hor. Od. iii. 18. 7 and S. ii. 4. 80; Pers. ii. 52.

Circe. Od. x. 234.

26. **Venus**. Il. xiv. 214. *cingulum*, the *cestus* of Venus containing all her love-charms.

27. **uim . . . lapillorum**. For the use of stones in magic cp. Petr. 131 *ter me iussit exspuere terque lapillos conicere in sinum*; Met. ii. 5 *lapillis . . . inhalatis*. Stones were used as amulets. Cp. Pap. Par. 1722; Orph. Lith. 410 and 306 sqq. (Abel), which speak of the efficacy of the *λίθος μάγνης*. See Abt, p. 190.

30. **Mercurius carminum uector**. Mercury is a Chthonian god, the sender of dreams (Orph. Lith. 20 (Abel)), the inventor of magic (Mart. Cap. de nupt. Merc. i. 36), the god of hydromancy

(cp. c. 42). *carminum uector*, which has been unduly suspected, probably means not *πομπὸς ἐπαδῶν* (Simcox), 'bringer of charms', but 'bringer of oracles'; cp. the address to Hermes in pap. Lond. 46, v. 414. For emendations see App. Crit. See Abt, pp. 191-4.

31. *illex animi*. For the genitive with *illex* cp. Plaut. Poen. 745 *qui illi malae rei tantae fuimus illices*. The two instances differ somewhat, that in the text meaning 'alluring the mind', that from Plautus 'alluring to such gross mischief'. Apuleius also uses the word absolutely; cp. c. 76 *illices oculos*.

Venus. That Venus was appealed to in love-charms and other forms of magic is natural enough, but she is rarely mentioned in this connexion. Abt (pp. 194-6) cites Pap. Par. 3209 ff.; Onirocr. ii. 37, p. 142. 15, Hercher; Pap. Par. 1723 and 2924.

Luna noctium conscia, 'the moon that knows the mystery of the night'. The moon is so universally associated with magic in ancient literature that no special illustration is required. See Abt (pp. 197-9); Roscher, Lex. Myth. ii. 2. 3157; 3163 ff.; Daremberg-Saglio, Dict. Ant. iii. 2. 1387, 1390, 1512.

32. *manium potens Triuia*. 'Die Zaubergöttin κατ' ἐξοχήν.' Abt, pp. 202-4.

33. **Neptunus . . . Salacia . . . Portuno . . . choro**. Salacia and Portunus (cp. Met. iv. 31) are nowhere mentioned in connexion with magic. But *deus Ephydrias*, *deus Nymphaeus Aido-neus* occurs in Wunsch, Seth. Verfluchungst., p. 86, and in Audolent, Tab. 286, we find *Tiberis*, *Oceanus*, *deus pelagius* 'Ιάω. Further, nymphs were represented on amulets (Kopp. Pal. crit. iv, p. 327, § 844), and in Pap. Par. 2273 we find *Luna πελαγίη*. Abt, p. 204.

Salacia. Cp. Varro, L. L. v. 72 *Salacia Neptuni a salo*; Fest., p. 326 *salum ciet*. She is later regarded as the wife of Neptune. See Warde Fowler, Relig. Exp. of the Roman People, p. 483.

Portuno. The god of Harbours. See Varro, L. L. vi. 19; Verg. Aen. v. 241; Fest., p. 242.

34. *aestibus . . . aestus*. See Introd., p. lvii.

CHAPTER 32

3. **ergo propterea**. For this collocation of words of identical meaning cp. *ergo igitur*, of which Koziol (p. 146) cites sixteen instances from the Metamorphoses (i. 5, etc.). See Beck, De Psyche et Cupid, p. 54.

4. *quaerit*. Sc. *pisces*: the object is easily supplied from the preceding sentence and no change is required.

et ipse. See note c. 20 *et ipsius*.

5. **myoparonem**. Cp. Cic. Verr. ii. 3. 80, 186. A light vessel specially employed by pirates.

6. **qui uectem perfossor**. Cp. Fest., p. 378 *ueticularia uita*

APVLEI APOLOGIA

dicitur eorum qui noctibus parietes alienos perfodiunt furandi gratia. *perfossor* = burglar (Gk. τοιχωρύχος). Cp. Plaut. Pseud. 980 *es perfossor parietum*.

8. *tristitudinem*. Not found before Apuleius. The word also occurs in Met. iii. 11.

9. *nequiores* is almost too strong a word, and Brantius' suggestion *sequius* is attractive. But the change is not imperative; cp. c. 28 *nequius interpretatis*.

11. *id genus*. Cp. note on c. 3 *rabulis id genus*.

13. *Menelai socios*. Hom. Od. iv. 368.

14. *poeta praecipuus*. Cp. c. 7 *poeta praecipuus* and see Introd., p. liii.

hamulis. Cp. Plaut. Stich. 289 *hamulus piscarius*.

15. *famem propulsasse*. The phrase appears in Cic. Fin. iv. 25. 71.

16. *gulones*. A very rare word. The only other instance quoted by L. and S. is Macr. S. vii. 12. 9. Cp. the word *degulator* in c. 75, note.

17. *merguntur* (Fφ). 'Gluttons are ruined above all by the prices they have to pay fishermen.' The phrase is bold, but for this use of *mergere* cp. Plin. ix. 7. 31 *at nunc coqui triumphorum pretiis parantur et coquorum pisces, nullusque prope tam mortalis aestimatur pluris, quam qui peritissime censum domini mergit*. For the ruin brought by the high price of fish cp. Alexis ap. Athen. vi. 226 ε αὐτοί τ' ἐπὶ ἀν ληφθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλίῳν | τεθνεῶτες ἐπιτρίβουσι τοὺς ὠρουμένους, | τῆς οὐσίας γάρ εἰσιν ἡμῶν ὄνιοι, | ὁ πριάμενός τε πτωχὸς εὐθὺς ἀποτρέχει. Cod. Urb. reads *mercantur*, which has been generally, though wrongly, adopted.

19. *necessarium habeo*. A variation on the classical idiom *necesse habeo*, which is also found in Apuleius, e.g. c. 68 of this speech.

20. *elleborum*. See Plin. xxv. 47-61. For other authorities see Abt, p. 208.

21. *cicutam*. See Plin. xxv. 151 and 153 sqq.; Abt, loc. cit.

papaueris. See Plin. xxv. 198 and 209; Abt, loc. cit.

22. *commixtio*. A rare word which does not appear before Apuleius; explained in Vet. Gloss. as χύμα.

24. *ueneficii arcesseres*. For 'judicial genitive' see note on c. 2 *insimulationis falsae*. This genitive is used with *arcesso* by Cicero, Sallust, and Tacitus.

CHAPTER 33

3. *statuto praemio*. *F* gives *statu^{to}*, the *to* being added by another hand. *φ* reads *statuto*, while cod. Laur. 54. 32 gives *stato*. *u* and *o* are frequently confused in *F* and *stato* may be right. In

view, however, of the fact that in Met. x. 27 we find *statutum praemium*, it is perhaps better to read *statuto*.

4. *leporum marinum*. A poisonous mollusc, *Aplysia depilans*, common both in our seas and the Mediterranean. Cp. Plin. ix. 155 *etiam tactu pestilens; uomitum dissolutionemque stomachi creat*.

6. *Themison*. The original doctor of that name lived at Laodicea and was said to be the first who employed leeches. Juvenal speaks of a physician of that name (x. 221) *quot Themison aegros auctumno occiderit uno*. Friedländer (see Mayor, ad loc.) says that it was customary for artists of every kind to assume the name of former eminent professors: e.g. among physicians, Asclepiades, Alcon, Antigenes. Themison reappears in c. 48 as a physician.

7. *ad inspiciendum* = 'for inspection'. The gerund is employed without any voice signification as a mere noun. Cp. 48 *a quo mulier ad inspiciendum perducta est*.

8. *inuenit* (Fφ) gives satisfactory sense, though *inueni* (Krüger) makes the sentence fit the words that follow (*sed profiteor me quaerere*) a trifle better.

12. *aut ipsum uiuum, si id nequierint, uel mortuum ostendant*. Helm rightly retains this, the reading of the MSS. 'Charging them to show it to me alive, failing that, even dead.' Helm compares Sall. Jug. 46 *persuadet uti Iugurtham maxime uiuom, sin id parum procedat, necatum sibi traderent*. The *si* is a little abrupt, but no change is absolutely required, though *uel si id nequierint mortuum ostendant* (Vulcanius) is a simple change, as is that suggested by Purser (Hermath. xiv, No. 33, p. 374) *uiuum si <quierint, si> id nequierint, uel mortuum ostendant*.

15. *ad finem calumniae confinxerunt*. In three other passages in this speech *confingo* is used with *ad*, and in each place with the meaning 'invented to suit'; see c. 22 *ad defensionem putes confinxisse*; c. 42 *ad praescriptum opinionis et famae confinxere*; c. 97 *ad consulentis uotum confinxerunt*. It is possible, therefore, that the words here, if the reading be correct, mean 'invented to suit the purpose of falsely accusing me which they set before them', and not 'at the close of their accusation', despite the rare use of 'intention' thus given to *finis*. But though the change is not absolutely necessary, the Latin runs more naturally if with Fulvius we read *fidem*, i. e. 'to prove their false accusation true'; and in view of the passages cited above the emendation is far from improbable.

res marinas impudicis uocabulis. See note on *ueretillam et uirginal*, c. 34.

19. *circumlocutione*. A post-Augustan word invented to translate the Greek *περίφρασις*. It is found in Quintilian, Gellius, Arnobius, Augustine, etc.

21. *munditer*. *munde* is the commoner adverb, but *munditer* is found also in Plaut. Poen. 235.

22. *interfeminium tegat*. Presumably from a lost declamation. Had the *Metamorphoses* been already published, Tannonius might have quoted a passage of very similar language from *Met.* ii. 17. *interfeminium* is found only here and in the next chapter, though *interfemus* is quoted from *Gloss. Philox.* by L. and S.

CHAPTER 34

3. *eloquentiae patrociniū . . . profiteatur*. 'Professes eloquence', lit. the defence of eloquence. The phrase is virtually = *patronus eloquentiae est*. Cp. *Met.* xi. 28 ad fin. *quaesticulo forensi nutrito per patrociniā sermonis Romani*. See note on c. 27 *rerum naturae patronos*.

5. *fringultiat* = 'stutters'. A lengthened form of *frigo*, 'to squeal'. In ante-classical Latin it is found in Plautus and Ennius; in post-classical Latin it appears also in Fronto. Apuleius uses it again in *Flor.* 17, where it refers to birds, and transitively with the meaning of 'stammering out' in *Apol.* 98 *uix singulas syllabas fringultientem*.

6. *de Veneris statua*. Presumably the Venus of Cnidos, the most famous of such statues. The attitude corresponds with that described at the end of c. 33.

9. *an quicquam stultius quam ex nominum propinquitate uim similem rerum coniectam?* As a matter of fact *nominum propinquitās* has a powerful influence in the selection of charms. Abt cites various examples (p. 213): e.g. the fish called ἐχέμης was used as a love-charm to 'hold fast', stress being laid on ἐχέειν, *Opp.* de pisc. 212; *Plin.* xxxii. 2. The *herba scorpio*, so called from the appearance of its seed, was used as an antidote against the bite of the scorpion, *aduersus animal nominis sui*, *Plin.* xxii. 39. The *reseda* was used as a healing herb, because its name suggested *resedare morbos*, *Plin.* xxxvii. 131. Cp. also the use of the crab for the healing of cancer discussed below, c. 35.

10. *fortasse an*. Not a classical usage. Apuleius uses the phrase again in c. 76 *fortasse an adhuc uidua ante quam nupta domi sedisset*; *D. Socr.* 5 *fortasse an inter Graecos proelio cognitos*. Nonius quotes it from Accius and Sisenna, and it occurs several times in Varro, Gellius, and Tertullian. Other phrases used in this speech with the meaning of 'perhaps' are *fors anne* (56), *fors fuit an* (92).

12. *ueretillam et uirginal*. It is uncertain what these fish may be. *ueretillam* ἀπ. λεγ. Cp. *ueretrum* = *membr. uirile*, derived probably from *uereor*. The form *uirginal* is not found before Apuleius, though *uirginale* occurs in *Phaed.* iv. 14. 14 = *pudenda muliebria*. Abt (p. 210 sqq.) points out that κρεῖς has a double meaning, sc. 'cockle' and ἀλδοῖον (see Pollux, ii. 174; *Suidas*, s.v.), while the Latin *pecten*, its equivalent, is found *sens.*

obsc. in Plin. xxix. 26 and Juv. vi. 370. So, too, *βάλανος* in Greek means a barnacle (Ar. H. A. iv. 8. 83) and is used *sens. obsc.* (ib. i. 13. 2). Athenaeus (iii. 105 c) mentions an *αἰδοῖον θαλάσσιον*, while the fish *καλλιόνυμος* appears to have had a similarly dubious import (Hesych., s. v., Photius, s. v.). It is perhaps worth noting that to-day Neapolitan fishermen give the name *cazzo di mare* to (a) the Sea-squirt (*Ciona Intestinalis*), (b) the Echinoderm (*Holothuria*), while the name *cazzo di re* is given to the fish *Iulis vulgaris*. So, too, the name *fissa di mare* is given to three different species of the mollusc *Aplysia* (sc. *f. molla*, *f. tosta*, and *fissella di mare*). In this case the *uirginal* would be a near relative of the Sea-hare mentioned in c. 33. We are indebted to Mr. G. C. Robson of the British Museum for information as to the modern uses. Cp. c. 35 *de mari spuria et fascina*. The *αἰδοῖα* of both sexes are not infrequently mentioned in connexion with magic, but always with apotropaic significance; cp. the phallic gestures still employed to avert the evil eye. Here, however, it seems to be suggested that these fish were to be employed as love-charms, to work on those portions of the body to which their names correspond. Cp. c. 34 *ex nominum propinquitate, etc.*, note. See Addenda.

15. *argumentum fore*. Cp. note on c. 11 *forent argumentum*.

16. *marinum pectinem*, 'a scallop'. See note on c. 39 *pecten*.

18. *piscem accipitrem*. This 'hawk-fish' is presumably the same as the Greek *ἰέραξ*. Cp. Athen. 356 a, where it is described as closely resembling the *κόκκυξ*, save that it is firmer-fleshed. The *κόκκυξ* is a gurnard (*Trigla pini*), to which the name of 'cuckoo' still attaches in various Mediterranean dialects (see Ar. H. A. iv. 9. 535 b, D'Arcy Thompson's note). The 'hawk' is the 'Flying gurnard' (*Dactylopterus* or *Trigla uolitans*), known as *pesce falcone* in Italian. See G. Schmid, Philol. Suppl. xi, p. 280.

piscem apriculum. See note on c. 39 *apriculum*.

19. *eliciendis mortuis marina caluaria*. The meaning of the 'sea-skull' is uncertain. Human skulls or portions thereof were used in necromancy. See Abt, pp. 215 sqq. Also note on c. 39 *caluaria*.

21. *commentum*. Used here and in c. 58 passively. It is also so employed in classical writers, e.g. Ovid and Livy. But as a matter of fact Apuleius uses the word *comminiscimus* (Met. iv. 11) as though from *comminisco* instead of the usual *comminiscor*, which he uses elsewhere (e.g. Met. ii. 22). In c. 81 he uses the word *commentum* as a noun (= fabrication), a classical use.

quiscilias = 'refuse'. The word is twice used by Cicero metaphorically: *Sest.* 43. 94; *Ep. ad Att.* i. 16. 6. Krüger would read it again in c. 96 where *Fφ* read *quas quis*. Cp. *Met.* i. 24. The word is possibly connected etymologically with *κοσκυλματία* (Ar. Eq. 49).

CHAPTER 35

3. congestim. ἀπ. λεγ.

5. flucticulis. ἀπ. λεγ.

foras evoluuntur. Cp. note on c. 16 *tum foras exserat*. In Plautus verbs compounded with *e* or *ex* are constantly employed with *foras*.

6. eadem opera. Cp. note on c. 10.

7. conchulam. Shells were used as materials on which to write amulets; cp. Pap. Lond. 121, 300 K, 309 W; Abt, p. 219.

striatam testam habentem. *habentem* agrees with *conchulam* and governs *striatam testam*. But while this, the reading of *Fφ*, gives excellent sense, the phrase does undoubtedly spoil the symmetry of the sentence, and it is possible that *albentem* (Brantius) may be right.

8. cancrorum furcas. For the use of crabs as a cure for cancer see note below. See also Riess, Aberg. in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 74. 20 sqq. There is no special mention of the claws as elements of a charm, Abt, p. 220.

echinorum. The sea-urchin was used as a cure for epilepsy; cp. Mely, Les Lapid. grecs, p. 17. 8; Abt, p. 221.

9. caliculos, 'shells', found only here in this sense.

ligulas, 'tentacles', found only here in this sense.

assulas, 'splinters', generally of wood, but here probably of stone (cp. Vit. vii. 6), since *festucas* should mean 'sticks'.

10. resticulas, 'fragments of rope' cast up from the sea might be used for magical purposes; cp. Pap. Lond. 121. 657 W ποιήσων ἐλλύχρια ζ' ἀπὸ πλοίου νεναναγηκότος.

et ostrea Pergami† uermiculata (*Fφ*). *Pergami* is meaningless and no certain emendation has been, or is likely to be, made. The only plausible suggestions are Brantius' *et ostreorum terga uermiculata* (for which he compares, not very relevantly, Plaut. Poen. 398 *ostreatum tergum ulceribus*), and Helm's *ne ostrea pergam uermiculata* (for which cp. 38 *ne operose animalium genitum pergam*). The first is rather far from *Fφ*, the latter a little lacking in point. 'Not to enumerate worm-eaten oyster-shells' comes very weakly as a conclusion to the clause commencing *postremo: denique* clearly begins a new class of objects dependent on *quaesisse*.

11. eiectamenta. Only found here and in Tac. Germ. 45, where the same phrase *cetera eiectamenta maris* occurs.

16. spuria = *pudenda muliebria*. Cp. Isidor. Orig. ix. 5. 24. The word probably comes from the same root as σπείρω. Cp. Plut. Qu. R. 103.

17. calculus ad uesticam. There is a pun on the double meaning of *calculus*, just as there might be in English on 'stone' or 'gravel'. Abt (p. 224) cites an instance where such a cure is actually employed: Ps. Dioscorides 36 (Mély, Lapid. grecs, 1898, p. 183, 16)

COMMENTARY : CHAPTERS 35, 36

λίθος ὕαλος λείος πινόμενος μετ' οἴνου λευκοῦ καὶ λεπτοῦ τοὺς ἐν κύστει λίθους θρύπτει ἱκανῶς. So too ib. 183. 13. Still, such instances are exceedingly rare.

18. *testamentum*. The ordinary meaning of the word would have nothing to do with the other words in this sentence. Apuleius seems to use the word in a half-jesting way to represent *testiculos*. Cp. the use of *detestatio* in Met. vii. 23.

cancer ad ulcera. *κάρκινος πρὸς τὰ καρκινώματα* (Casaubon). Apuleius betrays his ignorance of magic. Such a cure is mentioned by Pliny, xxxii. 134 *carbunculos et carcinomata in muliebri parte praesentissimo remedio sanari tradunt cancro femina cum salis flore contuso post plenam lunam et ex aqua inlito*. The same superstition has been found in South Germany in the nineteenth century (Wuttke-Meyer, § 477, p. 322). See also a yet more startling instance of modern superstition cited by Abt, p. 225, n. 4: 'Einen lebenden Krebs, dem die Scheren festgebunden sind, auf das Geschwür zu binden, bis er warm (oder tot) ist, verordnen "6. und 7. Buch Moses oder der magisch-sympathetische Hausschatz" (Philadelphia, ohne Jahr) S. 60, 99, und "das siebenmal versiegelte Buch", herausg. von der Verlagsbuchhandlung Ph. Hülsemann in Lpz., ohne Jahr, S. 451.'

alga ad querceram. (*F* reads *quercerum* emended by Colvius to *-am*.) The pun is disguised. *querceram* is an ague—a fever accompanied with shivering: so *alga* suggests *algidus*, an adjective naturally associated with such a complaint. Cp. c. 4 ad fin. *crinium . . . capitale*. Cp. also Introd., p. lvii. The grammarians quote the word *quercerus* as an adjective in the feminine agreeing with *febris* and *tussis*, but there seems no justification for the masculine as a noun. Fevers are regularly feminine, and *u* and *a* are often confused in *F*.

20. *proxima humanitate*. See note on *proximum argumentum* in c. 9.

22. *uincibilia*. The word here has an active sense. L. and S. quote as the only example of such a use a passage from the Lat. Anth. (Burm. ii, p. 329) where it is the attribute of *clangor*, *uincibilem . . . clangorem*, referring to instruments used to dispel the eclipse of the moon.

CHAPTER 36

3. *usque adeo*. This combination appears in two other places in the Apologia: 50 *si usque adeo aucta est ut, etc.*; 95 *at non usque adeo tuae benevolentiae indulgebo ut, etc.* It never appears in the Metamorphoses (Becker, p. 38). There are several examples of it in D. Socr. In classical Latin it appears only in Verg. Ecl. i. 12.

rebus meis curat. Cp. c. 12, note on *solis hominibus . . . curare*.

4. **occidua senectute.** Cp. Ov. Met. xv. 227 *labitur occiduæ per iter declivæ senectæ*. Cp. also *obeuntem senectam*, c. 14. For Aemilianus' age cp. c. 70 *decrepito seni*, note.

7. **maiores** = 'my masters'. See note on *minores* below. Cp. Flor. 2 *maior meus Socrates*.

8. **Aristotelen.** Sc. the *Historia animalium*, *de generatione animalium*, *de partibus animalium*, *de incessu animalium*, and the lost work on anatomy mentioned below.

Theophrastum. Theophrastus of Eresus (circ. 372-287 B.C.), the friend and pupil of Aristotle, wrote many zoological works, the largest being books *περὶ ζῴων* (Diog. Laert. v. 44). Diogenes Laertius also mentions (v. 43) a work *περὶ τῶν ἐν ξηρῷ διαμενόντων*, from which a long fragment on fish is preserved, Theophr. Fragm. 171, Wimmer.

Eudemum. It is clear that Apuleius regards this author as identical with Eudemus of Rhodes, the friend and pupil of Aristotle. But Aelian (H. A. iii. 20; iv. 8, 45, 53; v. 7) frequently quotes the zoological works of Eudemus, and the nature of these quotations is so foolish and trivial that it is unlikely that Eudemus of Rhodes is the author (see Zeller; *Philosoph. der Gr.* ii. 2. 870, note; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real Encycl.*, s. v. Eudemus von Rhodos). The work in question is probably of considerably later date. Outside Apuleius and Aelian there is no reference to any zoological work by Eudemus.

Lyconem. Lycon of Troas succeeded Straton as head of the Peripatetic school circ. 270 B.C. This is the sole reference to any zoological work by Lycon. For his life see Diog. Laert. v. 65.

9. **minores** probably means disciples, but may mean simply *posterī*. The disciples of Christ are called *Jünger* in German. If the meaning *posterī* were accepted the genitive would be in imitation of the Greek genitive of comparison; if it means 'disciples' the genitive is the ordinary possessive. Cp. de Pl. i. 9 *omniumque gignentium esse seniore*. Met. ix. 38 *nec tamen sui molliorem prouocarat*; viii. 27 *non sui fieri meliores*; xi. 30 *deus deum magnorum potior*, and probably iii. 11 *dignioribus mei(s)que maioribus*.

10. **genitu.** The word occurs only here, and possibly in c. 38, where Fφ read *genita* and Bosscha emends to *genitum*, q. v.

11. **bene quod ... agitur.** Cp. c. 84 *bene quod integras epistulas matris ex more adseruauit: bene quod uos festinatio iudicii ante-uortit*; Met. iii. 25 *sed bene quod facilius reformationis huius medela suppeditat*; also in vi. 8 and x. 14.

13. **περὶ ζῴων ἀνατομῆς.** The work is lost. For fragments see Ar. Fragm. ed. Rose, pp. 277 and 710. Diog. Laert. v. 25 says that the work was in eight books.

14. **multiuga.** Livy and Gellius employ this word. Cicero in one passage has *multiuges* as though from a third declension

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 36, 37

adjective. Apuleius has also *teriugus* (Met. vi. 19), *totiugis* (Flor. 9), and *totiugus* (Flor. 18). For the word here cp. Met. vi. 2 *multiugis precibus editis*; viii. 22 *multiuga scaturigine*; 28 *multiugis talis ouium tesseratum*; xi. 5 *numen unicum . . . nomine multiugo*.

problemata. Not the existing *problemata*, which are spurious.

18. **ordinatius.** The adverb *ordinate*, for which Cicero would have used *ordine*, is late and rare. The comparative occurs again in Tert. adv. Marc. i. 19.

cohibilius = 'more concisely'. The adverb *cohibiliter* occurs in D. Socr. prol. 4 ad fin. The adjective is found in Gellius.

20. **si opera est.** 'If you can spare the time.' *F* gives *si opera est*, a phrase found elsewhere, and not impossible here; cp. also Cic. Q. fr. iii. 4. 4 *deest mihi opera*. But in c. 38 we have *sed non est operae*, a construction common in Plautus and found also in Livy. Apuleius may have used both constructions from love of variety, but it would involve no change, if with Helm we wrote *operaest*. See Tyrrell on Plaut. Mil. 252.

23. **quos forte hic amici habuere.** Apuleius speaks as if his friends were in the habit of carrying his zoological works about with them. Clearly we have here a piece of stage management. It was of course arranged that the friends in question should bring the book into court. For a similar passage cp. c. 55 *dicite aliquis, etc.*, and perhaps c. 98 *ehem recte uos admonetis*.

24. **habuere.** Though the present would have been more natural, the perfect is intelligible. It is unnecessary to accept Krüger's hesitating emendation, *huc . . . attulere*.

sedulique. The adjective is not used with the same frequency as the adverb *sedulo*, but occurs six times in the *Metamorphoses*.

naturalium quaestionum may be dependent on *seduli* or on *librum*.

26. **interea dum hic quaerit.** For the redundant *interea* cp. 37 *at tu interea dum legit*. Cp. also note on c. 61 *interim dum*. *hic*, i. e. either a servant of Apuleius or an official of the court.

CHAPTER 37

1. **Euripidi.** For the genitive cp. Plaut. Rud. 86 *Alcumena Euripidi*. See note on c. 26 *Zoroastre*.

Sophocles poeta Euripidi aemulus. It is noteworthy that Sophocles requires a description to identify him, while it is assumed that Euripides' name will be familiar to the audience. 'It is a significant fact that after the end of the fourth century there is no certain allusion to any representation of a play by Aeschylus, and only one such allusion in the case of Sophocles; while Euripides,

APVLEI APOLOGIA

on the other hand, is frequently mentioned as a favourite in the theatre, and many of his writings are cited by name as forming a part of the regular stage repertory.' Haigh, *Tragic Drama of the Greeks*, p. 449.

2. *igitur* resumes after a digression, here a very short one. For an example of a longer digression followed by resumptive *igitur* see Flor. 7 *Alexandro illi*, followed after about ten lines by *eius igitur Alexandri multa sublimia facinora et praeclara edita fatigaberis admirando*.

4. *Coloneum suam*. *Coloneum* is here feminine because = *tragoediam*. The story is also told by Plut. an sit seni ger. republ. iii, p. 785 b, and by the anonymous author of a life of Sophocles. It was the first Stasimon (668-719) that he recited. For a striking poetic version of the story see Browning's *Aristophanes' Apology*.

peregregram tragoediarum. For the genitive cp. c. 38 *antiquos philosophorum*. *peregregram* is ἀπ. λεγ.

5. *tum in eo tempore*. For the unclassical use of *in* with this phrase cp. cc. 41, 57, 79, 87. It is characteristic of late Latin; see Dräger, i. 532. For the juxtaposition of words meaning 'then' cp. 73 *tunc deinde*; Met. ii. 14 *dehinc tunc demum*; de Pl. ii. 20 *tum post hoc*.

eam. Cp. note on c. 2, l. 3.

8. *comperior*. Cp. c. 8.

10. *coturnum facundiae*, 'the elevated style of his eloquence'. Fulvius' emendation *cothurni facundiam* is quite unnecessary. In fact *coturnus* more frequently means 'elevated style' or 'tragic dignity' than 'tragedy' itself. Cp. Quint. x. i. 68, etc.

13. *beasti*. A colloquialism = 'thank you so much'. Cp. Plaut. As. 332 L. *taceo*. L. *beas*; Ter. Andr. 106 *beasti*.

14. *lege pauca, etc.* For the reading of evidence cp. c. 80 *ipsas litteras, etc.*, note. Also c. 38 ad fin., c. 69 ad fin., c. 70 ad fin.

15. *de principio . . . de piscibus*. The preposition is used with two different meanings. 'Read a few remarks *from* the opening portion and then some statements *about* fishes.'

16. *aquam sustine*. As in the Greek courts the water-clock was stopped during the reading of evidence. See note on *aquae*, c. 28.

CHAPTER 38

2. *antiquos philosophorum*. Cp. above *peregregram tragoediarum*. 'An ordinary partitive genitive individualises some members of a class in order to distinguish them from others: here there is individualisation where apparently no division is intended.' Conington on Aen. iv. 576.

3. *eorum* is redundant. Cp. Met. xi. 7 *quid quod arbores etiam quae pomifera subole fecundae quaeque earum tantum umbra contentae steriles . . . dulces strepitus obsibilabant* (Koziol, p. 175).

4. *ex limo coalescant*. Apuleius may have in his mind such passages as Aristotle, de Gen. An. 762 a 10-30, where he refers to the part played by earth and water in the formation of *testacea*, and 762 b 28, where he implies that earthworms ('entrails of the earth') are spontaneously generated and subsequently become eels. On the other hand he may allude to passages such as Theophrast. Fr. 171. 11, where it is suggested that fossil fish found far from water may have been spontaneously generated from the earth; or again, he may be alluding to the fact that living fish are often found buried in the mud; cp. Ar. Parv. Nat. de resp. 9 ad fin.; also, for a remarkable case in recent times, Nature (Nov. 23, 1911, p. 107, J. Y. Buchanan).

quid anni. This partitive genitive of periods of time is common enough with demonstratives (*id temporis, hoc aevi, etc.*), but rare with interrogatives. Cp. c. 59 *quid sit diei uides*. Ennius has *quid noctis?*

5. *feminae subent*. *subare* is always used of females in good Latin of the best period. Later, as in Tertullian, Apolog., c. 14, it is applied to both sexes.

mares suriant. Just as *subare* is sometimes used of males, so *surire* is applicable also to females; cp. Fest., p. 310, s. v. *suillum*. Both words are derived from *sus*.

6. *uiuiparos . . . ouiparos*. Apuleius claims these words as of his own coining, and they are not found before him. But *uiuiparus* must once have been in use, if *uipera* is a contraction for *uiuipara* (but see Walde, p. 840). *ouiparus* is found in Ausonius and Fulgentius.

8. *operoze animalium genitum pergam*. Fφ give *perose . . . genita*. *operoze*, 'laboriously', is the certain correction of Ed. Junt. post. *genitum* (Bosscha) is perhaps the simplest correction of *genita*, though *genera* (Ellis) is also possible. *genitū* might easily be corrupted to *genita*. For confusions of *a* and *u* in *F* cp. *aspernunda*, c. 4; *conchalam*, c. 35; *intersitus*, c. 43, etc. Also note on *qui usurus est* (40). *pergam*: sc. *commemorare*. For the ellipse cp. Cic. Att. iii. 15. 5 *sed pergo praeterita*. *peragam* (Ellis) is therefore unnecessary. As an alternative correction of the passage on different lines *ne per omnes animalium genitus pergam* (Casaubonus) should be mentioned. But *perose* is not a very probable corruption of *per omnes*, though it involves but little change.

12. *cum me collegisse res cognitu raras*. This is Helm's correction of the meaningless *cum me cognitu raras* of Fφ. Bosscha suggested *cum res cognitu raras*. But *res cognitu raras* cannot naturally be said *prouenire*, while further it is more likely

that *collegisse res* dropped out owing to the scribe's eye being misled by the *co* of *cognitu* than that *res* was corrupted into *me*. *res* is required not only to explain *raras*, but also to balance *nomina*.

13. in hodiernum. Cp. note on c. 18.

15. ita de Graecis prouenire, 'are so translated from the Greek that in spite of their origin they seem to be struck from a Latin mint'.

Latina moneta percussa. For the metaphor cp. Hor. A. P. 59 *licebit / signatum praesente nota producere nomen*; Juv. vii. 55 *nec qui / communi feriat carmen triuiale moneta*.

18. nec cetera animalia nisi in communibus differentis atingam. 'What Apuleius means is that he will only mention land animals when they present the same features of difference within their own genus as fishes do within theirs. Thus take *συναγελαστικά* (infra). Most fishes go in shoals, but some solitary such as the pike. Of land animals similarly, some go in flocks, as sheep, and others solitary, as foxes. Such a point of difference in fishes is shared by them (*communis*) with land-animals.' Purser, Hermath. lxxxiv, No. 30, p. 375. This is more accurate than Helm's interpretation (Philol. ix, p. 570) *cum differentias aquatiliū tractat Apuleius . . . cetera animalia neglegit nisi in eis nominibus quae etiam ad terrestria animalia pertinent, velut ὄστρακόδερμα et καρχαρόδοντα*. For the form *differentis* for *differentiis*, cp. 88 *Quintis* for *Quintiis*, 93 *praedis* for *praediis*.

20. magica nomina Aegyptio uel Babylonico ritu. Cp. c. 91 ad init. Egypt and Babylonia are familiar as centres of magic, especially the former. Compare e. g. for Egypt: Lucian, Philops. 7, 31, 34, and 57; Apul. Flor. 15; while the magical papyri, even when not originating from Egypt, are full of references to Egypt. For Babylon: cp. Lucian, Menipp. 9; Philops. 12; Apul. Flor. loc. cit. See Abt, pp. 226-7. Strange names and words are characteristic of magic in all lands, and no doubt Egyptian and Babylonian words played the same part in ancient magic that Latin and Hebrew play in modern magic. Abt (p. 226, n. 2) points out that in demotic papyri (Griffith-Thompson) Greek words are often used for magical purposes. So too in Lucian, Philops. 9, we find *ῥῆσιν βαρβαρικῇν* and in Serm. mer. 4, 5 *βαρβαρικὰ καὶ φρικώδη ὀνόματα*. See Abt, loc. cit. and p. 228, where he gives specimens of magical jargon, e. g. the following from Pap. Par. 885 sq. *ἅγια ὀνόματα ἃ ἔγραψεν ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει ὁ Τρισμέγιστος Ἑρμῆς ἱερογλυφικοῖς γράμμασιν . αρβακωριφ * μηνιαμ * ωβαωβ * αβνωβ * μηριμ * βαιαξ * φνηιμ * χενωρ * ωρα * ωρησιου * ουσιρι * πνιαμουσιρι * φρηνουσιρι * ωριουσιρι * ναιωρουσιρι * μηνιμουσιρι*, and so on ad lib. The jingling terminations in Apuleius' list of Greek words might well recall a magical spell.

21. σελάχεια. Another form of σελάχια (cp. μαλακεία for μαλάκια), a diminutive of σελάχος, found in Opp. H. i. 643. The name applies

to all fishes of the cartilaginous tribe. Tr. 'sharks', or perhaps 'dogfish'.

μαλακεία. Another form of μαλάκια (cp. Opp. H. i. 638) = 'molluscs' without external shells, opposed to μαλακόστρακα, which are crustacea (cp. Arist. H. A. iv. 525 a), and ὀστρακόδερμα, which are molluscs with hard external shells (cp. Arist. H. A. iv. 523 b).

χονδράκανθα, 'with cartilaginous bones', an epithet of σελάχη. Cp. Arist. H. A. iii. 517 a.

22. καρχάρόδοντα. Cp. Arist. H. A. ii. 501 a where the epithet is given to those animals ὅσα ἐπαλλάττει τοὺς ὀδόντας τοὺς ὀξείς. The epithet is also applied to the lobsters' claws in H. A. iv. 526 a and to practically all fish in de part. An. iii. 675 a.

λεπιδωτά, 'animals with scales'. Arist. H. A. ii. 505 a, etc. It is used of fishes, while φολιδωτά, which means the same, is used of reptiles; cp. H. A. i. 490 b; ii. 508 a, etc.

23. δερμόπτερα, 'bats'. Arist. H. A. i. 487 b.

στεγανόποδα (Rosc.) is the regular word in Aristotle (H. A.) for web-footed. πέζα, νέποδα = *terrestria*, *aquatica* (Gronovius) is closer to *F*, but the Latin translations are too obvious to make the reading likely.

μονήρη are 'solitary' animals as opposed to gregarious, συναγελαστικά.

CHAPTER 39

5. de diis immortalibus matri et patri credere. Cp. Min. Fel. Oct. 22. 1 *has fabulas et errores ab imperitis parentibus discimus*.

6. hedyphagetica uorsibus scripsit. Fφ give a uersibus, a is probably the result of dittography. qui (Bosscha) is an unnecessary correction, the omission of a being all that is required. If a does conceal anything, cc (Rossbach) may be the true reading. The introduction of the precise number of verses would be quite in Apuleius' manner, and cc and a might easily be confused. The fragment which follows is all that survives of the Hedyphagetica.

7. curiose cognorat. Rather from the verse of Archestratus (vid. infr.) than of first-hand knowledge. The greater portion of this passage of Ennius is so corrupt that in many places emendation is almost hopeless. To guide us we have a few fragments of the Gastronomica of Archestratus, which Ennius follows pretty closely. But he does not follow it so closely that it can be taken as a sure guide. See Vahlen, Enn. poes. rel., p. 218, and Quaest. Enniana, p. xci; Enn. c. rel. ed. L. Müller, pp. 83, 210. The Archestratus fragments are preserved by Athenaeus and run as follows: Ath. iii, p. 92 d Ἀρχέστρατος δ' ἐν Γαστρονομίᾳ φησί· τοὺς μὲν Αἰνὸς ἔχει μεγάλους, ὄστρεα δ' Ἀβυδος, / τὰς ἄρκτους Πάριον, τοὺς δὲ

κτένας ἡ Μυτιλήνη / πλείστους δ' Ἀμβρακία παρέχει, καὶ ἄπλατα μετ' αὐτῶν . . . vii, p. 300 e τὸν δ' ἔλοπ' ἔσθε μάλιστα Συρακούσαις ἐνὶ κλειναῖς, / τὸν γε κρατιστεύοντα. vii, p. 318 f πούλυποι ἐν τε Θάσῳ καὶ Καρία εἰσὶν ἄριστοι / καὶ Κέρκυρα τρέφει μεγάλους πολλοὺς τε τὸ πλῆθος. vii, p. 320 σκάρων ἐξ Ἐφέσου ζῆται . . . καὶ σκάρων ἐν παράλῳ Καλχηδόνι τὸν μέγαν ὅπτα.

9. *ut* is not demonstrably impossible = 'just as the *Mustela marina* is found best at Clupea, so the *mures* are found at Aenus'. *at* (Turnebus) would perhaps be more natural, or *ad Clupeam* (Vahlen).

Clupea. A town in Africa. The locative *Clupeae* (Turnebus) or *ad Clupeam* (Vahlen) would be more natural than the locative ablative, but there is nothing impossible in the latter.

mustela marina. Probably the γαλῇ = *Lota vulgaris*, the 'burbot', Mod. Gk. γαλία, Ar. H. A. ii. 508 b, D'Arcy Thompson, n. 4 (Oxford Translation of Aristotle). I am indebted to Mr. D'Arcy Thompson's notes for the identification of these fish. Cp. also G. Schmid, de Archestratis frg. Ricker, St. Petersburg, 1896, and again in Philol. Suppl. xi. on the *Halieutica* of Ovid.

10. *mures* = mussels. Gk. μῦς, μύαξ, μύσκος, Lat. *mus*, *musculus*.

Aeni. A town in Thrace, near the mouth of the Hebrus.

aspra ostrea is Helm's correction of *aspera ostrea*. The alternative is to read *asperaque ostrea* with Bergk. This involves slightly greater change, and as the *hiatus* at the *caesura*, involved by *aspra ostrea*, presents no serious difficulty, *aspra ostrea* is perhaps preferable. For the form *aspra* cp. Verg. A. ii. 379.

11. **Mytilenae.** It is almost inconceivable that *Mytilenae* should have been scanned *Mýtillēnae* by Ennius, nor—to take the only other alternative—is it likely that the true reading is *Mytlenae*, a form without parallel. The simplest explanation is that *Mytilenae* formed the last word of a lost line, containing something equivalent to τὰς ἄρκτους Πάριον, which in Archestratus intervenes between the 'mice of Aenus' and the 'cockles of Mytilenae'. It is to be noted that after *Abydi F* gives *m*, i. e. *mus*. The reading closest to the MSS. would be . . . *mus*, *Mytilenae* / *est pecten Charadrique apud Ambraciai finis*, i. e. at Charadrus on the borders of Ambracia. There is no exact parallel for this form of the spondaic ending in Ennius, but it is scarcely harsher than many of his endings. It has been held that *caradrum* (*F*) conceals or is the name of a fish, in which case *apud Ambraciensis* (Casaubon) would be a very neat correction, *ambraciēsis* being easily corrupted into *ambracie finis*. But in view of the fact that Archestratus (cited above) couples Ambracia and Mytilene as famous for κτένες (*pectines*), and that there was a port named Charadrus in Ambracia, it seems too bold to accept this interpretation. For other corrections of this line see App. Crit.

(The parallels cited by Vahlen for *Mytilenae* in Rhein. Mus. xvi.

587 are inadmissible. They may be explained either by simple corruptions of the text or by the assumption that the lengthening of the short vowel is due to the consonantalization of *i*, etc. *mus* following *Abydi* may be due to dittography for the first syllable of *Mytilenae*, written *Mutilenae*.)

pecten = 'a scallop', so-called from its shape.

12. *sargus* = *Sargus Rondeletii*. Mod. Gk. *σάργος*.

hunc magnus (*magnu'*) *si erit*, *sume*. The hypermeter is without parallel in Ennius, but in view of the use of the hypermeter in later verse (e. g. Vergil) there seems to be no necessity for emendation. For two simple alterations see App. Crit.

13. *apriculum*. Perhaps the modern 'boar-fish' = *caprus aper*.

14. *Surrenti tu elopem fac emas*. *Surrenti tu* is Baehrens' correction for *surrentia* Fφ. In view of the resemblance between *t* and *a*, it is perhaps the simplest emendation; but see App. Crit.

elopem. Perhaps the sturgeon; perhaps a large tunny. The identification was disputed in antiquity. See Ar. H. A. ii. 505 a and vi. 570 b, D'Arcy Thompson's note.

glaucum. There is no certain identification. *Carcharias glaucus*, the 'blue-shark', has been suggested. See G. Schmid, Philol. Suppl. xi, p. 303.

aput Cumas. It is possible that in this scansion of *aput* before a consonant we have a survival of an old form *apo*. '*Apud* seems to be the I-Eur. Preposition **apo* (of which Lat. *ab* is a curtailment), augmented by the particle **d(e)* or **t(i)*, and must have been originally **apo-d* or **apo-t*', Lindsay, L. L., p. 579. But it is tempting to read *ἀπὸ Κύμης* with Bergk. See Vahlen, Enn. Poes. Reliqu., p. 219.

15. *quid scarum praeterii*. The only case of a vowel followed by *m* being short before a word beginning with a consonant that is to be found in verse is *enim*, the *i* of which is frequently short in Plautus though followed by a word beginning with a consonant. But the final *m* is frequently dropped in inscriptions of early date up to about 130 B. C. See Lindsay, L. L., pp. 68 and 123. *scarum* may therefore probably be retained here. The alternative is with Bergk to read *quid scaru(s) ? praeterii, etc.*

scarum = the 'parrot-wrasse', *Scarus Cretensis*, Mod. Gk. *σκαρός*. Ar. H. A. ii. 505 a, D'Arcy Thompson's note.

cerebrum Iouis. Proverbial for a great delicacy. Cp. Zenob. iii. 41 Διὸς ἐγκέφαλος περὶ τῶν ἡδυπαθούντων. So too Athen. 529 d. For other instances see Kock's note on Ehippus, fr. 13. For the excellence of the *scarus* cp. Plin. ix. 62 *nunc scaro datur principatus*.

16. *Nestoris ad patriam*. Sc. Pylos.

17. *melanurum*. The same arguments that tell against *Mytilenae* beginning the third line of the citation also tell against *melanurum* holding a similar position. The most probable correction would seem to be *quid merulam, turdum, melanurum umbramque marinam*.

In any case these accusatives must be regarded as dependent on *praeterii*, the intervening line being regarded as parenthetical.

melanurum = *Oblata melanura*. Mod. Gk. μελανούρι. Ar. H. A. viii. 591 a, D'Arcy Thompson's note.

turdum (κίχλη) = *Ctenilabrus rostratus*, a wrasse, still styled *tordo* in Italian. Ar. H. A. ii. 505 a, D'Arcy Thompson's note.

merulam (κόσσυφος) perhaps = *Ctenilabrus fauo*, a wrasse. Mod. Gk. κόσσυφι. According to Ar. ap. Ath. vii. 305 b the κόσσυφος is μελανόστικτος, which would apply to several other species of wrasse better than to *C. fauo*. See Ar. H. A. viii. 599 b, D'Arcy Thompson's note.

umbram marinam. Presumably the fish known as σκίανα in Greek. This fish is 'one of the three allied *Sciaenidae*, *Sc. aquila*, *Umbrina cirrosa* and *Coruina niger*, to all of which the name *ombra*, *umbrina*, etc., is now applied. The last named is called in Mod. Gk. σκιός, σκιοειδής; *Umbrina* is also called σκιδόν' (Ar. H. A. 601 b, D'Arcy Thompson's note).

18. **polypus**. The common cuttle-fish or octopus.

caluaria pinguia, acharnae. Helm, following Marx's interpretation of *cephaleaque acarnae* (Lucilius, rec. Marx, 50), takes *acharnae* as a genitive dependent on *caluaria* = 'rich brains of bass'. This is a possible interpretation, but it seems more probable that *caluaria* are a separate species of fish. This is certainly the natural interpretation of *marina caluaria* in c. 34, though it would be possible to take the phrase in the sense of 'fish-skulls'. Therefore, in spite of the fact that the *caluaria* have not been identified, it seems preferable to place a comma between *pinguia* and *acharnae*. The *acharna* or *acharnas* is identical with the *labrax* or bass. Cp. Hesych. s. v.; Ar. H. A. viii. 591 a, D'Arcy Thompson's note. The MSS. give *carne*. We have restored the Greek spelling. Cp. *acharne* Plin. xxxii. 145.

19. **muriculi**. Dim. of *murex*.

echini, 'sea-urchins'.

21. **iurulentus**. Used by Celsus as here in distinction from *assus*. It is used twice by Apuleius in the *Metamorphoses*, ii. 7 and iv. 22. Here Fφ read *iusulentus*. But in the *Met.* the spelling is *iurulentus*. Cp. *purulentus* from *pus*. Helm compares other passages where *s* and *r* are confused: 36 *recta* for *secta*, 41 *accurandam* for *accusandam*.

22. **ne ego reprehendar**. *ne* is for *nedum*, as in c. 66 *ne huic frutici credam*. Other instances are Plaut. Aul. 434; Cic. Ep. Fam. ix. 26. 2 *me uero nihil istorum ne iuuenem quidem mouit unquam, ne nunc senem*; p. domo 139; Sall. Cat. II (where some MSS. read *nedum*); Liv. iii. 52. 9. See Dräger, ii. 694.

CHAPTER 40

2. *instudiosus*. ἀπ. λεγ.

4. *interspersa atque interseminata*. Two participles of which the second gives the meaning of the first in a special way: cp. in this same chapter *conexa et catenata*. The alliterative redundancy appealed to Apuleius. Neither word is found outside his writings: *interspersus* recurs in Met. v. 15 *interspersum rara canitie*.

7. *qui . . . usurus est* is the correction of the cod. *Urbinas* for the meaningless *usura est* of *F*φ. *usurus est* was written *usurust* and *usurust* was corrupted into *usurast*. The confusion between *u* and *a* is common in *F*; cp. *conchalam* for *conchulam* (35), *intersitus* for *intersitas* (43), *interfeminiam* for *interfeminium* (34), *num* for *nam* (45), *respectus* for *respectas* (46). For further examples see Helm, Philol. loc. cit., p. 562, note, and Purser, Hermath. loc. cit., p. 376, note. Helm (Philol. loc. cit., pp. 543 sqq.) raises the objection that the singular *qui* does not give the right sense and that a plural covering both the *philosophus* and the *medicus* is required. But the singular could give rise to no misunderstanding. Apuleius merely says that the philosopher would use these objects to help mankind, not for his own profit. In saying this he casts no slur on the physician, and it is hard to see where misconception could arise. Helm makes two suggestions, both of which are open to serious objection: (1) *quibus illis . . . usura est*. *quibus* = *philosophis et medicis*; *illis* = *remediis*. There is no instance of *usura* governing the ablative, though the construction might be justified on the analogy of *usus* with the ablative. The normal construction with *usura* is the genitive. (The same objection holds good against *cui illis . . . usura est* (Hildebrand).) (2) *quippe qui illis . . . usura est*. In this latter case *illis* = *philosophis et medicis*, while *quippe qui* = *cum* or *quia*. For this use cp. 3, note, and 26 *auditisne magian . . . artem esse dis immortalibus acceptam . . . quippe qui inter prima regalia docetur*. In this case the omission of the 'thing used' is awkward.

8. *suppetias*. A favourite word with the comic poets and Apuleius.

9. *omnis uetustatis certissimus auctor*, 'our soundest authority for all archaeology'. The genitive is governed by *auctor*, as in Hor. Od. i. 28. 15 *non sordidus auctor naturae uerique*: it is not a partitive genitive with the superlative.

10. *certissimus auctor*. Cp. 31 *poetam multiscium uel potius cunctarum rerum adprime peritum*.

Homerus. Cp. Od. xix. 456 sqq.

12. *at enim*. See note on c. 17.

14. *prius dixerim*. Sc. c. 36.

16. ἀνατομῶν. Cp. περὶ ζώων ἀνατομῆς, c. 36, note.

20. *praesertim quod*. A rare variation for the usual *praesertim*

cum (or *si*). In Cic. Flacc. 17. 41 the true reading is *praesertim cum*, not *praesertim quod*.

clanculo. This form of the word is fairly frequent in Apuleius, and is found also in Macrobius, Ammianus, Tertullian, and Augustine. In the comic poets the form *clanculum* is very frequent.

23. *si quo eat* is Helm's correction of *si queat* (MSS.), based on Van der Vliet's *si qua eat*. *si queat*, 'if he can', is not actually nonsense, but is so feeble compared with the correction that there can be little doubt as to which is right. 'Everywhere' is far more forcible than 'if possible'. Cp. 63 *quoquo eam, gestare*.

primori fronte. For this word used of parts of the body cp. c. 50 *primorem cutim* and Met. iv. 28 *primore digito* (Purser's note). Cp. Enn. Rel. Sc. 12 (Vahlen) *amicitiam atque inimicitiam in fronte promptam gero*.

24. **hunc adeo pisciculum, etc.** The details as to the existence of twelve bones like the knuckle-bones of a sucking-pig in the interior of this 'fish' are far from proving that the fish was not a sea-hare. The molluscs *Aplysia*, to which the sea-hare belongs, do actually contain a number of small bony substances set round the alimentary canal and serving to grind up their food. Mr. G. C. Robson, to whom we are indebted for this information, was kind enough to have a sea-hare dissected for our instruction. The specimen in question had eleven such 'bones' fully formed, and numerous others in course of formation. Apuleius' description is sufficiently accurate; the 'bones' are *conexa et catenata* in the sense that they are set very close together and adhere to the wall of the alimentary canal. But it seems clear that Apuleius' accusers had good reason for supposing the 'fish' to be a sea-hare.

26. **uocent** (Fφ). *uocem* (vulgo) gives perhaps slightly better sense, but there is no need for change.

30. **exossis** = boneless, i.e. a mollusc. This word, used here literally, is used in c. 74 ad fin. (see note) with the meaning 'limp', like our English use of 'invertebrate'. In Met. i. 4 the form *exossam*, as though from *exossus*, is used. Apart from these three passages L. and S. quote only Sid. Ep. viii. 16. 2, where it is used with *dictio* (= negligent). Lucr. iii. 721 has the nominative *exos*. See note on *ossi*, c. 49.

numero. Used redundantly as in c. 44 *ut servos numero quindecim apud te exhiberem*; 47 *cui tamen rei tot numero adhibuissem*; Met. iv. 28 *tres numero filias*. So also with *multi* and other words.

31. **conexa et catenata.** The force of *con-* is carried on to the second word of the couplet. Watson quotes from Cyprian 431. 23 *conlaetare et gratulare melioribus*; 701. 2 *collegarum et sacerdotum*.

32. **nunquam** is Goldbacher's correction of *si unquam* (Fφ). This is simpler than the *si scisset nunquam* of the inferior MSS.

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 40, 41

For the confusion between *n* and *si* cp. 92 *capens* (*F*), where the true reading is *cape sis*, 74 *exomis* (*F*φ) for *exossis*. 'We might also explain the corruption by supposing a dittography of the final letter of Aristoteles with *i*, and that *n* had been corrupted into *i* as in 10, where *F* has above the line *ierant* for *non erant*.' Purser, *Hermath. loc. cit.*, p. 377.

33. *aselli piscis* = the Greek *ἄσος*, traditionally identified with the 'hake'. But according to Ar. H. A. ix. 620 b it has a barbel, which the true hake has not. It may perhaps be identified with *Phycis blennoeides* or *Phycis mediterranea*. It is identified by Dorian, ap. Athen. vii. 315 f, with the γάδος. It is in any case one of the cod tribe. G. Schmid (Philol. Suppl. xi, p. 328) says that *Gadus poutassou* or *uernalis* is to-day called by the Greeks γαίδουρό-ψαρο from γαΐδαρος, γαΐδουπος, γάδαρος = ass. He further points out that Athen. vii. 312 d and 315 f speaks of a fish called ὀνίσκος, which, he suggests, may be identified with *Motella tricirrata*, a rock-cod.

The statement about the fish's heart being in its stomach is cited from Aristotle ἐν τῷ περὶ ζῳικῶν in Athen. vii. 315 e. Cp. also Ael. N. A. v. 20 and vi. 30; Clem. Al. Paedag. ii. 1. 18, p. 65 Sylb. The statement is unintelligible. (Signor C. Foligno informs us that *asineddu* is the name given in Naples to a small fish of the group of *Percidae* (*Maena insidiatrix*), while *asello* is the name given to a small crustacean.)

corculum. Cp. Plaut. Most. 986 *amburat ei misero corculum carbunculus*; Cas. 361 *fodico corculum*; Sol. xl. 23 *nec nisi in corculo chameleonis pauxillum sanguinis deprehenditur*. The word is used also as a term of endearment: Plaut. Cas. 837 *meum corculum, melculum, uerculum*.

CHAPTER 41

4. *rusparer*. An old word found in Accius, and explained by the grammarians as meaning to investigate or search assiduously.

hepatia. ἡπάτια, cp. Ital. *fegatini*. The word is found in Lucilius and Petronius.

6. *suomet obsonio discit*. The ablative may express the way in which Pudens *hepatia suffodit*, but it is on the whole better to assume an ellipse of some such word as *facere* = as he learns to do with his own food. Cp. Cic. de Sen. 8. 26 *discebant fidibus*, sc. *canere*.

17. *eo in tempore*. Cp. note on c. 37.

Gaetuliae mediterraneis montibus. See note *Gaetuliae* in c. 24. There is no evidence as to what mountains these may have been. Possibly the Jebel Aurès. (*mediterraneis* is a correction of

later MSS. for *mediterranis* (Fφ). While *mediterraneus* is not in itself an impossible form (cp. *Volaterranus*), it occurs nowhere save in Gloss. ii. 368 : cp. Arch. f. l. L. i. 179.

18. *ubi pisces per Deucalionis diluuiā reperientur*. Apuleius is sarcastic. 'Where, I suppose, Deucalion's deluge has made it possible to find fish.' Schwabe (Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl. ii. 248), wholly regardless of the sense of the passage, thinks that Apuleius was really looking for fossils!

20. *Theophrasti*. See note on 36. He wrote a work *περὶ δακετῶν καὶ βλητικῶν* (Diog. Laert. v. 2. 13, 43). Helm refers to Theophrastus, Fragm. 178, Wimmer, where T. describes the shock given by the torpedo-fish. This, however, is cited by Athenaeus (vii, p. 314) from the *περὶ τῶν φωλεονόντων*.

βλητικῶν. The MSS. give *βαητων*, i.e. *βλητῶν*. *βλητά* is found for *βλητικά* in the MSS. of Ael. H. A. iii. 32 and Schol. in Nic. Ther. 760 and 764. For the distinction between *δακετά* and *βλητικά* see Aelian, loc. cit. *τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐστὶ δακετά καὶ ἐνίησι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁδόντος φάρμακον, βλητικὰ δὲ ὅσα παίσαντα εἶτα μέντοι καὶ ἐκείνα τὸ τοιοῦτον κακὸν ἐνίησι*, as for instance the torpedo-fish.

21. *Nicandri*. Nicander of Colophon, a didactic poet of the Alexandrian period. The *Theriaca* which survives is in hexameters, 1,000 lines in length, dealing with the bites of wild beasts.

ceterum = 'otherwise'. Cp. Met. v. 5 *immo nec prospicias omnino: ceterum mihi quidem grauissimum dolorem, tibi uero summum creabis exitium*; v. 19; vii. 28; Ter. Eun. 452. See Leky, p. 57.

22. *at quidem* is Helm's correction of *ut quidem* (Fφ). For the confusion between *at* and *ut* cp. 40 *ut quiuis uel extrarius, etc.*, where Fφ wrongly give *at*. For *at quidem* cp. Plaut. Mil. 659; Most. 1014. (The vulgate *ut qui* makes nonsense. Helm (Philol. loc. cit., p. 572) says justly 'quid stultius quam putare hoc enuntiatum causam afferre eius quod antecedit?')

23. *Aristoteli*. This genitive is used by Cicero, Att. xiii. 28. See note on c. 26 *Zoroastre*.

Platone. The words which follow are not actually found in any of Plato's extant works. Apuleius is probably misquoting Timaeus 59 c *ἢν ὅταν τις ἀναπαύσεως ἔνεκα τοὺς περὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀεὶ καταθέμενος λόγους τοὺς γενέσεως πέρι διαθεώμενος εἰκότας ἀμεταμέλητον ἡδονὴν κτᾶται, μέτριον ἂν ἐν τῷ βίῳ παιδιὰν καὶ φρόνιμον ποιοίτο*. Similar sentiments are expressed in the Laws, 3, p. 685 a. *παιδιὰν παίζειν* occurs in Alcib. i, p. 110 b, Parmenid., p. 137 b.

CHAPTER 42

6. *disquamari* (Fφ) presents no difficulty, but in view of the passage from Plautus (quoted in the next note), it is possible that *dēsquamari* (cod. Tol.) may be right.

exdorsari is the reading of *Fφ* and is a perfectly possible form. But elsewhere the verb *exdorsuare* is used. Cp. Plaut. Aul. 398 *Dromo, desquama piscis. tu, Machaerio, / congrum, muraenam exdorsua, quantum potest.* Paul. Fest., p. 79. 12 (Müll.); Non. 17. 29. It is possible, therefore, that *exdorsuari* should be read here with cod. Laur. 54. 13.

7. **peruulgatoribus.** This comparative is found also in Gell. vi (vii). 17. 8. The superlative is found only in Auct. Her. iv. 8. 11.

8. **puerum.** Not merely a slave, but also a boy, as boys were used for divinatory purposes just as at the present time in the Italian state-lotteries the lot is drawn by a boy dressed in white. Apuleius appeals in c. 43 to Plato to show that the powers of boys as mediums are due to the fact that 'Heaven lies about us in our infancy'; cp. Cypr. Ep. xvi. 4 *castigare nos itaque diuina censura nec noctibus desinit nec diebus. praeter nocturnas uisiones per dies quoque impletur apud nos spiritu sancto puerorum innocens aetas, quae in ecstasi uidet oculis et audit et loquitur ea quibus nos Dominus monere et instruere dignatur.*

9. **cantatum.** The word is used fairly freely, especially in poetry, in the sense of 'bewitched', e.g. Lucan. vi. 767 *ut nullos cantata magos exaudiat umbra.* Apparently it is not used elsewhere with a living human person as the object of the incantations. It is true that the verb *incanto* is used with regard to Apuleius' experiments in cc. 42, 45, and 48, but there is no need to alter the text here in view of Apuleius' love of variety of expression.

remotis arbitris. The magical procedure with which he was charged was obviously not a mere demonstration of power, such as that described in Act. Apost. apocryph. i, p. 72. 27, c. xxv, where Peter raises up one whom Simon Magus *morti tradidit.* This was done before a crowd of important witnesses as we see the scene depicted in the famous fresco of the Brancacci Chapel in the Church of the Carmine at Florence. The charge implied against Apuleius must have been that he used the boy for further purposes, as he suggests in the next sentence. (See Abt, p. 234.)

10. **arula** might have here its ordinary meaning of 'little altar': but the word is found with the meaning of 'censer', as in Itala cod. Lugd. Levit. 16. 12 *accipiet plenam arulam* (πυρρῆιον codd. turibulum) *carbonis ignis ab altari* (see Thes. s.v.). In this case we may compare a papyrus quoted by Abt, p. 249 (Griffith-Thompson, pap. col. xiv, p. 101 (21)), where a child is being employed for divination with a lighted lamp on his right and a censer of fire on his left. Cp. c. 43 *odorum delenimento.*

lucerna. If the boy was used for hydromantic purposes the lamp may have been there in order to give a brilliant point of light to be gazed on in the water. This is a method employed now in crystal-gazing. See Journal of Society for Psychical Research, May 1897, p. 71.

paucis . . . testibus . . . corruisse. Cp. Sen. de Ira iii. 10 (*epileptici*) *uitauerunt turbam et sine teste ceciderunt.*

11. *nescientem sui* = 'unconscious'. *nesciens* is used like an adjective instead of the classical *nescius*: no other example is cited of an accompanying genitive.

12. *enim*. Cp. note on c. 18.

13. *praesagio praedixisse*. Cp. note on c. 1 *crebris flagitationibus prouocauit.*

19. *Trallibus*. Ablative of place where: the inhabitants would be *Trallianis*. *Tralles* as the name of a people signifies an Illyrian tribe, not the city of Asia referred to here. *consultantibus* is dative with *cecinesse*.

21. *in aqua simulacrum . . . contemplantem*. Hydromancy was a common form of 'scrying' in ancient times. The *ὑδρομάντεις* and *λεκανομάντεις* of Persia are mentioned by Strabo, p. 762. Cp. Aug. de Civ. Dei vii. 35 *nam et ipse Numa ad quem nullus Dei propheta, nullus sanctus angelus mittebatur, hydromantiam facere compulsus est, ut in aqua uideret imagines deorum uel potius ludificationes daemonum, a quibus audiret, quid in sacris constituere atque observare deberet.* For further examples in antiquity see Iambl. de Myst. iii. 14; Psellus, de op. daemon. 42; and the article *Divinatio* (Bouché-Leclercq) in Daremberg-Saglio. Swindlers invented apparatus for producing the desired effects (Hipp. ref. iv. 35). Mr. W. R. Halliday refers us also to R. Scot's *Discoverie*, Booke 12, chap. 17, on the subject of 'toies artificially conveyed into glasse which will make the water bubble and devices to make images appeare in the bubbles'. For modern methods of scrying see the Journal of the Psychical Research Society, March 1898, April 1898, Oct. 1889 (where the Indian gazing-methods called *Unjamu* are noted); and the chapter on crystal-gazing in Mr. A. Lang's *Magic and Religion*.

23. *denarium*. So too in Met. ii. 13 *iam dinumeratis centum denarium*. But *denariorum* is found in Apol. 97, where the numeral adjective agrees with it.

Nigidius Figulus, the contemporary and supporter of Cicero, was one of the most learned men of his day. Besides works on grammar and various problems of natural history, we hear of three works on divination from his pen: *augurium priuatum* (Gell. vii. 6. 10), *de extis* (ib. xvi. 6. 12), and *ἡ τῶν ὀνείρων ἐπίσκεψις* (Lydus, de ost. 45). He attempted to revive Pythagoreanism (Cic. Tim. i. 1), and was said to have prophesied that Octavian should become the ruler of the world (Suet. Aug. 94). He was banished by Julius Caesar and died in exile in 45 B.C. (Hieronym. ad ann. 1972).

25. *parti* is the reading of *F*, *parte* of *φ* (with *te* in ras.). For the ablative form cp. Plaut. Men. 479; Pers. 72; Varro, R. R. i. 13. 5; Lucr. i. 1111, iv. 515. Cp. c. 22 *PELLI* and note on c. 56 *partim Oensium*.

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 42, 43

27. *Catonem philosophum*. The younger Cato was a Stoic of the strictest kind.

in *stipe Apollinis*. Cp. Liv. xxv. 12. 14 *praetor edixit ut populus per eos ludos stipem Apollini quantam commodum esset conferret*; Fest. p. 23 *Apollinares ludos . . . populus laureatus spectabat, stipe data pro cuiusque copia*. It is probable that Cato was concerned with this *stips* in his capacity as *quindecimuir sacris faciundis*. For his tenure of this office cp. Plut. Cat. Min. 4.

CHAPTER 43

1. *de magis et pueris*. The reading of *Fϕ magiis* can scarcely be right: the plural of *magia* is strange, if not unexampled, and the combination with *pueris* clumsy. *magis*, the reading of various of the later MSS., is almost certainly right.

3. *Platoni*. Cp. Sympos. 202 e, where *δαίμονες* are spoken of as powers 'which interpret and convey to the gods the prayers and sacrifices of men and to men the commands and rewards of gods'. For a disquisition by Apuleius on these beings, who are of great importance in Neo-Platonic philosophy, cp. D. Socr. c. 6 *sunt quaedam diuinæ mediae potestates inter summum aethera et infimas terras in isto intersitae aeris spatio*.

8. *auocamento*. Found three times in Pliny the elder, otherwise not before Apuleius.

odorum = *ἐπιθύματα*. A good modern instance of the use of *odores* in magic is given in the life of Benvenuto Cellini, vol. i, c. 13.

delenimento. Used of magic influence in Livy xxxix. 11. 2 *illius excetrae delenimentis et uenenis imbutum nec parentis nec deorum uerecundiam habere*.

12. *futura rerum*. Other examples of this partitive genitive in Apuleius are Met. iv. 10 and 12 *singula rerum*; iv. 12 *cuncta rerum*; ix. 1 *pauca rerum*. Dräger, i. 456.

praesagare. A post-classical verb found also in Met. ix. 38 *praesagauerant*. The classical verb is *praesagire*.

utut ista se habent. *Fϕ* read *ut*. There is, however, no certain parallel for *ut* in the sense 'however'. There are a few passages where, as here, the MSS. give *ut*, e.g. Apul. D. Socr. c. 20; Plaut. Poen. 833; Cic. ad Fam. xvi. 18. 1. But evidence points strongly to the correctness of *ut ut*. The MSS. evidence is of little importance, as the corruption is easily explained as a case of haplography. In the passages cited above all the most recent editors read *ut ut*. Helm is alone in preserving *ut* in the present passage.

15. *integer* may mean no more than 'unblemished', but probably also refers to 'sexual purity'. See Abt, p. 258. The boy employed

APVLEI APOLOGIA

by the magician in Benvenuto Cellini's life is 'pure and immaculate'.

17. **si tamen.** Cp. note on c. 10 and Met. vi. 9 ad fin. (Dräger, ii. 741).

an corresponds to *aut* just above. *φ* reads *aut* here.

18. **expergitus.** The participle of *expergo*, an ante- and post-classical word quoted from Accius and Lucilius: it is used by Lucr. iii. 929 *nec quisquam expergitus exstat*. Cp. Met. ii. 14 and 26; iv. 22. The grammarians vainly tried to distinguish it from *experrectus*, Paulus saying that the latter meant *qui per se uigilare coepit, expergitus ab alio excitatus*; Diomedes explains it differently: *expergitus qui satiatum somno sponte euigilat, experrectus a quiete impeditus*. Apuleius twice uses the adverb *expergite*: Met. ii. 23 and viii. 31.

20. **Pythagoras.** Iamblich. Vit. Pyth. 245 λέγειν δὲ αὐτοὺς (sc. τοὺς Πυθαγορείους) οἶμαι καὶ περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ διδάσκειν τοὺς προσιόντας, οὓς καὶ χείρους τῶν ἐρμογλύφων καὶ ἐπιδιφρίων τεχνιτῶν ἀποφαίνουσι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐκδομένον τινὸς Ἑρμῆν ζητεῖν εἰς τὴν διάθεσιν τῆς μορφῆς ξύλον ἐπιτήδειον, τοὺς δὲ προχείρως ἐκ πάσης φύσεως ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιτήδευσιν. Koziol (p. 249) calls this a proverb, though the source of the quotation is given by Apuleius. Other proverbs or maxims collected by him from this speech are: 16 *albus an ater esses ignoravi*, 'I did not know you from Adam'; 56 *quid de me Mezentius sentiat manum non uorterim*, 'I don't care a fig'; 69 *mendacem memorem esse oportere*; 81 *in memet ipsum uertit cornua*. But none of these are really satisfactory examples of the proverb, such as e.g. Flor. 18 *ubi uber ibi tuber*, or Met. vi. 22 *ad armillum redit*.

25. **comitali.** See note on c. 50.

26. **an.** Cp. note on c. 1.

27. **conflictationibus.** A post-Augustan word, first used by Quintilian, but frequent in later Latin.

facie ulcerosus, etc. An excellent picture of a confirmed epileptic, probably suffering from tuberculosis as well.

28. **conquassatus,** 'bruised', sc. through falling on his head.

29. **naribus hiulcus** = 'with distended nostrils'. Cp. Met. ix. 13 *nares languidas adsiduo pulsus tussedinis hiulci*.

CHAPTER 44

2. **me coram.** *coram* is always used as an adverb in the Metamorphoses and elsewhere in the Apologia. Cp. c. 96 *quas mihi aut coram aut denique in testamento gratias egisset*; 100 *contumelias dixit coram*. See Becker, p. 23. In the Metamorphoses *incoram* is used quasi-prepositionally with the genitive several times.

3. **exhiberi denuntiastis.** Apuleius uses the infinitive here, but a few lines below has the same verb with *ut* and the subjunctive: *denuntiauit ut seruos numero quindecim apud te exhiberemus.*

4. **quid in Thallo despuant.** Cp. Plaut. Capt. 550 *et illic isti qui sputatur morbus interdum uenit.* Aristophontes, who is accused in that scene of having the disease for which spitting is a specific, is told by Hegio *ne uerere, multos iste morbus homines macerat, / quibus insputari saluti fuit atque is profuit.* *despuere* means 'to avert by spitting'. Cp. Plin. xxviii. 35 *despuimus comitiales morbos, hoc est contagia regerimus.* Theophr. xvi. ad fin. *μαϊνόμενον δὲ ἰδὼν ἢ ἐπιληπτον φρίξας ἐς κόλπον πτύσαι.* In modern days a similar superstition survives. Our friend Mr. W. R. Halliday informs us that when travelling in a suburban train near Berlin he was 'constrained by an agitated lady to spit three times in the face of her husband who was seized with a fit in the carriage. She asked me if I had seen "die Krämpfe" before, and, fearing that if I said "yes" some sort of medical knowledge might be expected of me, I said "no". Whereupon I was made to spit three times upon him, and as a result he is expected to be cured for good.' See Folk Lore, vol. xxii.

5. **ex eodem . . . eodem.** Cp. note on 16 *in tumidis.*

8. **ostensum.** This form of the participle has the authority of Varro (ap. Prisc. p. 892 P.) and Lucan (ii. 192), but *ostentum* is the commoner form.

9. **omnium rerum conuictum.** For the 'judicial' genitive cp. note on c. 2 *insimulationis falsae.*

10. **nisi rus adeo iam diu,** the reading of a late hand in the margin of ϕ , is perhaps the correction involving least change from *nisi rusa de oīu diu* ($F\phi$). The only other MS. correction is *nisi de omnium consensu rus diu* (cod. Urb. 199, one of the latest and most corrupt), which would have to be altered to *nisi rus de omnium consensu diu* (as in ed. Junt. ii) to be even plausible. No correction can be considered certain. The best are *nisi rus a sede omnium diu* (Helm), *nisi rus a domino diu* (Kroll), *nisi rus ideo omnium odio* (Ellis). An improvement on the latter would perhaps be *odio omnium diu.*

14. **nudius tertius.** Cp. c. 1 *quintus an sextus*, note.

17. **ad centesimum lapidem.** There is no evidence as to the exact meaning of this phrase. It may mean a hundred miles from Sabrata, or may refer to a point where stood the hundredth milestone from some place unspecified.

exul Oea est. $F\phi$ reads *exoleis*. Hildebrand suggested *exul est*. This fails to explain ϵ , though otherwise satisfactory. We suggest the above. *exul oea est*, is became *exul ea ē is*, which was corrupted to *exuleis* and then to *exoleis*.

18. **curriculo, 'post haste'.** Cp. c. 63, note.

APVLEI APOLOGIA

20. *quam salve agat*. A colloquial expression. Cp. Met. i. 26 *quam salve agit, inquit, Demeas noster?*

26. *et tenerem*. The obvious translation is: 'I would hold him up, support him, if you cross-examined him.' The alternative is with Helm to supply *causam* as the object to *tenerem*. This is perhaps possible, but it is a forced interpretation. *tenerem* should naturally have the same object as *permissem*.

27. *hic ibidem*. Cp. c. 101 *hic ibidem pro pedibus tuis abicio*; Met. iv. 17 *ipsi parati sumus hic ibidem pro cauea ista excubare noctes*; Flor. 18; Koziol (p. 139) compares Cic. p. Rosc. Am. 5. 13 *ne hic ibidem ante oculos uestros trucidetur*.

28. *inuertisset, etc.* Hildebrand notes as a specially African construction the use of the pluperfect instead of the imperfect subjunctive. It is, however, a feature of all late Latin. See note on *elaborasset*, c. 61. See also Koziol, p. 211, note; Dräger, i. 260. Apuleius is fond of strings of verbs in the same tense; cp. 53 *adseruabam . . . exponebam . . . commendabam . . . permittebam*; Met. vi. 28 *perhibebo . . . habebo . . . exhibebo . . . adornabo . . . mollibo . . . saginabo*.

spumabundus. ἀπ. λεγ. Apuleius is fond of adjectives with this termination, many of which he uses with an active force (see on c. 72); but in this sentence *faciem tuam* is governed by *conspuisset* which regularly takes the accusative.

CHAPTER 45

3. *olim*, 'for some time past', like *dudum*. A post-Augustan use. Cp. 70 *sponte eam diceret sine ulla magia iam olim nupturisse*; 71 *sed olim sua sponte a nubendo non alienam unquam me fortasse prae ceteris maluisse. non olim* sometimes = *non multo ante*, e.g. Met. x. 9 *me non olim conuenerat*.

5. *dissimulas . . . insimulas*. See note on c. 9 *pro implexis . . . complexum*.

14. *gagates*. 'Jet' is so called from *Gagae*, a town in Lydia. For an account of its properties cp. Dioscorides, v. 149; Pliny, xxxvi. 142. Both of these, with other authors, record its use as a test of epilepsy.

15. *uenaliciis*, 'slaves exposed for sale'.

18. *uertigine sui*. See note on c. 25 *ad inuidiam mei*.

21. *de nihilo* = 'without good cause'. Cp. 51 *haudquaquam uideor de nihilo percontatus*; 69 *saepe audiui non de nihilo dici*. The expression is found in Plautus (Curc. 478, Truc. 769), and Livy.

22. *piaculari sacro*. Cp. *piaculum* c. 13 ad fin.; also cod. Just. i. 6. 2 *piaculare crimen*; Festus, s. v. *piacularia auspicia*.

25-7. *cuius pueritia . . . refragaretur . . . deroget*. The meaning

COMMENTARY : CHAPTERS 44-47

of the sentence is somewhat uncertain. What is the sense of *religio*? Is it the *religio* of the rite at which Pudens alleges that he was present, or the *religio iurisiurandi*? (1) 'Although his youth was no obstacle to his presence at the rite (lit. 'as regards *religio*'), yet the fact that he is the accuser ought to detract from his credibility.' (2) 'Although his youth was no bar to his being heard on oath, yet, etc.'

27. *tete*. On the use of this form see Neue, *Formenl.* ii. 355.

28. *dementire*. Ante- and post-classical, found once in Lucretius (*dementit deliraque fatur*, iii. 464) and in Lactantius. It is used again in c. 78 *quibus, ut isti aiebant, confessa est, sese mea magia in amorem inductam dementire*.

CHAPTER 46

4. *ait producturum*. Cp. note on c. 2 *pollicitus ita facturum*.

9. *ut producant*. *ut* for *utinam* is archaistic. It is common in Plautus and Terence; but afterwards only survives in poetry until it reappears in late Latin prose. Cp. Cat. lxvi. 48 *Iuppiter, ut pereat omne genus Chalybum*; Hor. Sat. ii. 1. 43 *Iuppiter, ut pereat positum robigine telum*; Ov. Her. xiii. 161 *quod ut uideam canis albere capillis*.

10. *pollicitus es*. *F* omits *es*, while ϕ reads *es pollicitus*. It is probable, however, that we should read *pollicitus es* with cod. Dorv. The auxiliary verb is certainly required, though it is possible that *pollicitus (F)* may stand for *pollicitu's*; see note on c. 103 *lucrum sectatus es*.

11. *nomina qui sint*. For the construction cp. c. 43 *nominate quis ille fuerit puer sanus*; 45 *ut nomines quinam testes huic piaculari sacro adfuerint*.

12. *mea aqua*. See note on c. 28 *aquae*. For the present phrase cp. the well-known Greek phrase ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι λέγειν.

14. *didicerit* is Van der Vliet's admirable emendation of *dicerit (F)*. ϕ reads *dixerit*, which is adopted by Krüger. While *dixerit* gives sense it is far less forcible than *didicerit*. The witness is not 'ignorant of what he has said', but 'has forgotten the evidence with which he was primed by the accusers'.

17. *tantum*. See *Addenda*.

19. *prolapsus est*. There is no parallel for this use of *prolabi* instead of the more normal *labi*.

CHAPTER 47

2. *de quindecim seruis denuntiasti*. Cp. Cic. Caec. 32 fin. *de isto fundo*.

9. *duodecim tabulis*. Cp. Plin. xxviii. 17 *quid? non et legum ipsarum in duodecim tabulis uerba sunt? 'qui fruges excantassit'*,

APVLEI APOLOGIA

et alibi 'qui malum carmen incantassit'. So too in Sen. N. Q. iv. 7 *et apud nos in duodecim tabulis cauetur, 'ne quis alienos fructus excantassit'.* For illustrations of this magical practice cp. Verg. Ecl. viii. 99; Tib. i. 8. 19.

incredundas. A word confined to Apuleius. Cp. Flor. 15 *caerimoniarum incredundas potentias*; Met. ii. 12 *incredundam fabulam.*

11, 12. *noctibus...tenebris...arbitris...carminibus.* The parallelism is only apparent, and arranged for the sake of sound rather than sense. *noctibus* is ablative of time: *tenebris* may be ablative of means, 'shrouded with darkness', though the analogy of Vell. Pat. ii. 129. 3 *abstrusa terrae* suggests that the meaning is 'thrust away into darkness' (the phrase occurs also in Met. iv. 35 *abstrusi tenebris*): *arbitris* is a bold ablative of want, as though *solitaria* were the same as *uacua*: *carminibus* is instrumental. For a similar apparent parallelism cp. c. 54 *aut remedio acceptum aut sacro traditum aut somnio imperatum*; c. 78 *tanta mollitia animi, tanta formido ferri est.* See also note on c. 75.

15. *tempestivum.* A regular epithet of *convivium*; meaning originally 'in good time', i. e. beginning early in the day. With the growth of luxury it had come to mean 'at the fashionable hour'; so that any dinner-party of at all a formal or ceremonious kind would be thus described. See Furneaux on Tac. Ann. xi. 37.

16. *quindecimviri.* The *quindecimviri sacris faciundis* were priests of Apollo and had charge of the Sibylline books.

17. *si conscientiae nimis multi sunt.* The MSS. reading may be retained. The dative is exactly parallel to *adiutorio* just below. The argument is: 'For what function are fifteen slaves required? They are too numerous *to be accomplices*. Is their presence then required *to be assistants* and hold the victims? No victims have been mentioned.' *conscientiae* bears the same relation to *nimis multi* (i. e. *haud necessarij*) that *adiutorio* does to *necessarii*.

20. *diutine* is the reading of the MSS. here and in Met. ii. 15 and 24, though in c. 14 *F* gives *diutino*. For variations in the terminations of adverbs cp. Met. v. 28, where the MSS. read *efflicte*, though in all other cases Apuleius uses *efflictim*.

21. *gallinas.* These were a frequent offering to Chthonian deities, and we find them especially associated with ἐγκοίμησις and oneiromancy (on which see note on c. 54 *somnio imperatum*). Besides the famous saying of Socrates (Plat. Phaed. 118 A) we find instances of their association with Asclepius. Thus there is an inscription found on the island of Aesculapius in the Tiber, at Rome Οὐαλερίω Ἀπρω στρατιώτῃ τυφλῷ ἐχρημάτισεν ὁ θεὸς ἐλθεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν αἷμα ἐξ ἀλεκτρυόνος λευκοῦ μετὰ μέλιτος καὶ κολλύριον συντρίψαι καὶ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπιχρεῖσαι ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, καὶ ἀνέβλεψεν καὶ ἐλήλυθεν καὶ ἡὐχαρίστησεν δημοσίᾳ τῷ θεῷ (see Deubner de Incub. p. 44). A

vision is recorded by Artemidorus (v. 9) ἡΰξατό τις τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ, εἰ διὰ τοῦ ἔτους ἄνοσος ἔλθοι, θύσειν αὐτῷ ἀλεκτρύονα· ἔπειτα διαλιπὼν ἡμέραν ἡΰξατο πάλιν τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ, εἰ μὴ ὀφθαλμιάσειεν, ἕτερον ἀλεκτρύονα θύσειν. καὶ δὴ εἰς νύκτα ἔδοξε λέγειν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν ‘εἰς μοι ἀλεκτρύων ἀρκεῖ’. ἄνοσος μὲν οὖν ἔμεινεν, ὠφθαλμιάσε δὲ ἰσχυρῶς· καὶ γὰρ μιᾷ εὐχῇ ὁ θεὸς ἀρκοῦμενος τὸ ἕτερον ἡρνεῖτο. See also Herodas iv. 12 and 16 (where the offering is made to Asclepius), Ar. Amphiarus (Kock, fr. 18), where it is apparently made to Amphiarus, a Chthonian deity. The practice is attacked by the Christian writers, e.g. Tertullian, de Anima; Lactantius, Div. Inst. iii. 20. Pyrrhus used to cure swellings of the spleen by a ceremony, part of which consisted of the sacrifice of a white cock (Plut. Pyrrh. 3). For the association of *gallinas* and *grana turis* Abt. compares Pap. Ber. ii. 24 ἐπίθου δὲ ἐπικαλούμενος λίβανον ἄμμητον καὶ στροβίλους δεξιὸν δώδεκα καὶ ἀλέκτορας ἀσπίλους β, τῷ Ἡλίῳ ἕνα καὶ τῇ Σελήνῃ ἕνα. See Abt, p. 272 and footnote, for the literature of the subject.

CHAPTER 48

2. *eiusdem ac Thalli ualetudinis*. The MSS. omit *ac*. No parallel for this genitive (*Thalli*) can be found. We have therefore inserted *ac*. The reading of the MSS. has been universally accepted by editors. The only defence of its acceptance would seem to be (1) that the genitive (*Thalli*) depends on *ualetudini* understood; i. e. ‘health the same as that of *Thallus*’; or (2) that *idem*, like *similis*, has been made to take the genitive instead of the normal dative: how easily this might happen may be seen from such a passage as Plaut. Mil. 519 *ita istast huius similis nostrai tua, / siquidem non eademst*.

quam ego pollicitus sim curaturum. See note on c. 2 *pollicitus ita facturum*.

5-7. *negauit . . . quicquam ultra passam*. We have here an indirect statement in the infinitive, where we have to supply a subject to the infinitive (here *eam*) which is not the subject of the principal verb. Cp. Met. v. 29 *uelim ergo scias multo te meliorem filium alium genituram*. Apol. 75 *ut crederes metuere*. See also note on c. 2 *pollicitus ita facturum*.

8. *ecquid illi aures obtinnirent*. Abt (p. 250) quotes a papyrus (Griffith-Thompson, col. iii, p. 35 (18) ff.), where the magician speaks the following incantation over the boy who is acting as medium, ‘You utter this down into his head for seven times; when you utter this then his ears speak. If his two ears speak, he is very good, if it be his right ear, he is good, if it be his left ear, he is bad.’ This difference is said to survive in modern superstition (Abt, p. 272). Hippocrates mentions the singing in the ears as

APVLEI APOLOGIA

a means of diagnosing ailments (Prognoseis, i, p. 262; Med. Graec. vol. xxi, Kühn).

10. *discessisse*. Apuleius uses *discedo* absolutely, *decedere* when a case is joined, as *mensa decederem* (Met. iv. 22), or with the idea of giving up a place to another. (See Hildebrand.)

11. *inpraesentiarum*. Cp. cc. 53, 65, 91. The word is frequently used by Apuleius in his rhetorical writings, but not in the *Metamorphoses*. It is as old as Cato (R. R. 144. 4) and is found in Nepos, Tacitus, Minucius Felix, Symmachus, and Fronto. It is probably to be derived from *in praesentia rerum*, a phrase which actually occurs, rather than from *in praesentia harum* (sc. *rerum*). See Lindsay, p. 562. Petronius twice has the word *depraesentiarum*.

13. *nequeo quin laudem*. An ante- and post-classical construction. Cp. Flor. 17 ad fin. *nequeo quin . . . attingam*; Plaut. Truc. 553; Mil. 1342 *nequeo quin fleam*.

15. *nimis quam prudenter*. So too Met. i. 7 *nimis quam humane*. Cp. Plaut. Most. 511 *nimis quam formido*; Capt. 102 *nimis quam cupio*; Truc. 468. See note on *oppido quam*, c. 67.

22. *causidicos*. Apuleius' derivation is false. They are called *causidici* not because they allege reasons, but because they plead 'causes' in the legal sense.

25. *multo arduum et difficile*. *multo* instead of *multum* with the positive is very rare. Cp. Ter. Hec. 159 *maligna multo et magis procax*, where, however, even without Bentley's transposition to *et multo*, *magis* can go with both adjectives. Apuleius uses *longe* with the positive in c. 17 *longe incluto*.

27. *scrupulo liberatur*, 'is released from the annoyance'. The phrase recurs in cc. 65, 69. The word *scrupulus* is used by Apuleius in this speech in two other phrases; c. 77 *inicare scrupulum* (employed by the comedians and Cicero), and c. 99 *demere scrupulum*.

30. *petitu*, 'request'. A rare word post-classical with this meaning. L. and S. quote besides this passage only one example from Gellius. Apuleius has it also in Met. vi. 7 and de Pl. i. 4 with this meaning.

CHAPTER 49

3. *de animi trinis potestatibus*. Timaeus 35a τῆς ἀμερίστου καὶ αἰὲν κατὰ ταῦτὰ ἐχούσης οὐσίας καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς περὶ τὰ σώματα γιγνομένης μεριστῆς τρίτον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἐν μέσῳ συνεκράσατο οὐσίας εἶδος, τῆς τε ταυτοῦ φύσεως καὶ τῆς θατέρου, καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ξυνέστησεν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ τε ἀμεροῦς αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὰ σώματα μεριστοῦ. καὶ τρία λαβὼν αὐτὰ ὄντα συνεκράσατο εἰς μίαν πάντα ἰδέαν, τὴν θατέρου φύσιν δύσμικτον οὖσαν εἰς ταῦτὸν ξυναρρόπτων βίᾳ. For *trinis* = *tribus* cp. de Pl. ii. 9.

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 48, 49

4. *cur quaeque membra, etc.* Timaeus 70 sqq.
5. *causam morborum, etc.* Timaeus 82 a-86 b.
6. *trifariam.* The adjective *trifarius* is rare and late, and is not found before Apuleius. The adverb *trifariam* is earlier, appearing in Livy, Suetonius, etc.

primordiis corporis. Timaeus 82 a, b.

10. *sequens causa, etc.* Timaeus 82 b-84 c.

For *sequens* = *secunda* cp. Met. v. 27 *sequentis uindictae*; vi. 20 *sequenti offulae*; vii. 3 *sequens uerbum*. The use is not classical, but, as *secundus* means literally no more than 'following', and also comes from *sequor*, is natural enough.

12. *uisceris.* The flesh. Cp. Timaeus 82 c *μυελὸν γὰρ ἐξ ἐκείνων ὅσπου τε καὶ σαρκὸς καὶ νεύρου συμπαγέντος ἔτι τε αἵματος ἄλλον μὲν τρόπον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν γεγονότος*. Apuleius does not mention the sinews.

ossi. From an old nominative form *ossum*, which survived in non-literary Latin. Cp. Priscian vi. 69 *quidam tamen ueterum . . . 'hoc ossum' proferebant, unde . . . Accius in Annalibus: fraxinus fissa ferox infensa infinditur ossis*; vii. 37 *etiam 'hoc ossum' antiqui protulerunt*; Gellius libro xxx *caluariaeque eius ipsum ossum expurgauerunt inauguraueruntque* (see Rönsch, p. 260). There are some interesting quotations from Augustine as to the use of the word. Aug. in psalm. 138 *quod uulgo dicitur ossum, latine os dicitur*; de doctr. Christ. iii. 3. 7 *plerumque loquendi consuetudo uulgaris utilior est significandis rebus quam integritas litterata: mallem quippe cum barbarismo dici 'non est absconditum a te ossum meum', quam ut ideo esset minus apertum, quia magis latinum est*; ib. iv. 10. 24 *cur pietatis doctorem pigeat imperitis loquentem ossum potius quam os dicere, ne ista syllaba non ab eo quod sunt ossa, sed ab eo quod sunt ora intellegatur, ubi Afrae aures de correptione uocalium uel productione non iudicant? quid enim prodest locutionis integritas quam non sequitur intellectus audientis?* So *uasum* sometimes used for *uas*, e.g. Plaut. Truc. 54; Mart. Cap. iii. 295 *uasum an uas dici debeat quaeritur*. See Piechotta, p. 33.

13. *illa quae . . . mixta sunt.* It is not quite clear to what Apuleius refers when he says 'and further the various substances made from the blending of these'. Plato points out (Tim. 82 c sqq.) (1) that the blood, marrow, flesh, and sinew are composed of elements, (2) that these components of the body arise in a certain order: flesh and sinews arise from blood, the sinews from the fibrine of the blood, the flesh from the clots formed when the fibrine is separated; (3) 82 d. The sinews and flesh generate a glutinous and oily secretion which cements the flesh to the bones, nourishes the bone, and irrigates the marrow. Apuleius must refer to this secretion, though the plural *illa* is very vague and somewhat inappropriate. It is not impossible that he had a rather confused recollection of what Plato said, and that in using the plural he was influenced by a vague remembrance of what Plato had

said about the formation of the flesh and sinews from the blood. There is nothing else in this passage of the Timaeus to which Apuleius can refer, for Plato proceeds at once to deal with the results of the degeneration of these various components of the body.

tertio, etc. Timaeus 84 c τρίτον δ' αὖ νοσημάτων εἶδος τριχῇ δὲ διανοεῖσθαι γιγνόμενον τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ πνεύματος (*turbidi spiritus*) τὸ δὲ φλέγματος (*pinguis humoris*), τὸ δὲ χολῆς (*uarii fellis*).

14. **concrementa.** ἀπ. λεγ.; cp. note on c. I *obiectamenta*.

CHAPTER 50

1. **morbi comitialis.** Epilepsy, so styled because its occurrence at the *comitia* was regarded as of evil omen and caused the *comitia* to be suspended. Cp. Fest. 234. 28, s.v. *prohibere*.

3. **colliquescit.** A rare word used by Varro, Columella, and Fronto.

4. **albida et tumida tabes, etc.** Cp. Plat. Timaeus 85 a τὸ δὲ λευκὸν φλέγμα διὰ τὸ τῶν πομφολύγων πνεῦμα χαλεπὸν ἀποληφθέν, ἕξω δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἀναπνοᾶς ἰσχὸν ἡπιώτερον μὲν, καταποικίλλει δὲ τὸ σῶμα λευκὰς ἀλφούς τε καὶ τὰ τούτων συγγενῇ νοσήματα ἀποτίκτον. It is to be noted that Plato is *not* talking at this point of epilepsy. He only begins to treat epilepsy in the next sentence (cited below in note on *bili atrae sociata*). Apuleius, however, speaks of this eruption as giving immunity from epilepsy.

5. **foras corporis.** *foras* is found several times in the Vulgate governing an accusative. Here it governs the genitive, like *longe parentum* in Met. v. 9, or *intus aedium* in Met. viii. 29. Dräger (i. 665) calls the latter a Graecism. Another word used quasi-prepositionally in Apuleius is *altrinsecus*; cp. Met. iii. 17 and v. 2 *altrinsecus aedium*.

prospirauit. ἀπ. λεγ.

7. **omnimodis.** The adjective, for which the dictionaries quote no example earlier than Apuleius, is found again in c. 75 *omnimodis collurchnationibus dilapidauit*; Flor. 18 *omnimodis laudibus*; Met. v. 25 *uoculas omnimodas*. The adverb *omnimodis*, which is frequently used by Lucretius, is found in Flor. 4 *et idem omnimodis peritus modifier*.

maculationibus = maculis. The word is not found earlier than this passage, but is used later by Firmicus Maternus. It illustrates Apuleius' love of abstract for concrete (see Koziol, p. 254), and of a long word for a short one with similar meaning. Cp. Met. ix. 35 *frugalitas* for *fruges*; xi. 18 *oblaciones* for *dona*.

conuariat. Not found before Apuleius.

9. **adtemptatur.** For this word used as a medical term cp. 59 *ex crapula helluo adtemptatur*.

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 49-51

11. dulcedo. Haupt (Opusc. iii. 314) has shown that this reading is correct. *dulcedo* has the meaning 'itch', 'irritation'. Cp. Cic. Leg. i. 47 *quae natura bona sunt quia dulcedine et scabie carent, non satis cernunt*; Grattius 408 *at si deformi lacerum dulcedine corpus / persequitur scabies*; Veget. Mulom. iii (ii). 52 *urigines etiam in pedibus cruribus unguibusque uel sub armis aliquando generantur: quas quidem dulcedines uocant: habent similitudinem scabiei*; ib. v (iv). 14. 4; Auson. Epigr. 106 (108) 'in scabiosum Polygitonem', 12 *letali . . . dulcedine*. In the present passage *dulcedo* is the same as the *utiligo* and *maculationes* mentioned above. (See also Purser, Hermath. xiv, No. 33, p. 361.) The emendations *putredo*, *mucedo*, *albedo* (τὸ λευκὸν φλέγμα Plat. Tim. loc. cit.) are therefore needless.

bili atrae sociata, etc. Cp. Plat. Timaeus 85 a μετὰ χολῆς δὲ μελαίνης κερασθὲν ἐπὶ τὰς περιόδους τε τὰς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ θειοτάτας οὔσας ἐπισκεδανύμενον καὶ συντάραττον αὐτὸς (*diuinas uias et sapientes meatus*), καθ' ὅπνον μὲν ἰὼν πρῶτον (*quod facit minore perniciæ per soporem*), ἐγρηγορόσι δὲ ἐπιτιθέμενον δυσπαλλακτότερον (*ut etiam uigilantium capiti effundatur, etc.*).

16. obruit et obturbat. So again Apuleius couples two words compounded with *ob* in c. 97 *obicit et obsternit*.

minore perniciæ per soporem. 'In many epileptics the fits occur during the night as well as the day, but in some instances they are entirely nocturnal, and it is well known that in such cases the disease may long exist and yet remain unrecognised either by the patient or physician.' Encycl. Brit., Epilepsy (Affleck).

17. strangulatione. A post-Augustan word, used, as is also *strangulatus*, several times by the elder Pliny.

19. repentino mentis nubilo. Cp. Met. x. 28 *repente mentis nubilo turbine correpta*.

21. maiorem. Cp. Cels. de Med. iii. 23. Hesychius μεγάλη νόσος ἐπιληψία.

22. diuinum, etc. Cp. Plat. Tim. 85 b νόσημα δὲ ἱερᾶς ὄν φύσεως ἐνδικώτατα ἱερὸν λέγεται. The disease was really so called because its suddenness and the terrible nature of its symptoms suggested a divine visitation. Cp. Hippocr., vol. xxi, p. 587, Kühn. Plato, adopting the popular name, tries to give it a higher significance.

CHAPTER 51

2. cui fidem arbitratus. Cp. Plaut. Bacch. 570 *postremo si pergis parum mihi fidem arbitrarier*.

10. problematis. See note on c. 5 *poematibus*. The statement does not occur in the spurious 'Problems' which have survived and is found only here. But cp. Hippocr. περὶ νόσων iii (Med. Graec. ed. Kühn, 22, p. 319) θανατωδέστερον γὰρ πρὸς τὰ δεξιὰ καίειν ἢ τέμνειν· ὁκόσῳ γὰρ αὐτὰ ἰσχυρότερα ἐστὶ τὰ δεξιὰ, τόσῳ καὶ τὰ νοσήματα ἐν

APVLEI APOLOGIA

αὐτοῖσι ἰσχυρότερα δείκνυται. So too Ar. de part. ii. 2. See Abt, p. 274.

12. **Theophrasti.** See note on c. 36. He wrote a book *περὶ ἐπιληψίας* and another *περὶ ζώων ὅσα λέγεται φθονεῖν*; see Diog. Laert. v. 43. The passage in question about newts is preserved in Phot. Bibl. 278. 8 *ὅτι ὁ γαλεώτης, φασί, φθονῶν τῆς ὠφελείας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καταπίνει τὸ δέρμα ὅταν ἐκδύσῃται· ἔστι γὰρ βοήθημα ἐπιλήπτῳ.* Cp. also next note.

16. **senium.** Pliny the elder frequently uses both *senectus* and *senecta* of the cast skin of a serpent: e.g. viii. 111 *Theophrastus auctor est angues modo et stelliones senectutem exuere itaque protinus deuorare praecipientes comitiali morbo remedia.* For a similar use of *γῆρας* in Greek see Ar. H. A. v. 17. 10; viii. 17. 11; Soph. fr. 335 (Nauck).

21. **nec ullum ex medicis aut poetis.** He has cited only Plato, Aristotle, and Theophrastus, leaving writers such as Hippocrates untouched.

23. **ad inspiciendum.** For this verb, used of medical examination, see Plaut. Pers. 316 *inspicere morbum tuum lubet.* Cp. also note on c. 33.

25. **qui adduxit ac mea ratiocinatione, etc.** This is Fulvius Ursinus' simple emendation of the MSS. *ad mea ratiocinatione.* It has the merit of explaining the corruption *ad mea* better than Helm's *ad me et mea.*

CHAPTER 52

1. **Immo enim.** For this combination, which is not found in the *Metamorphoses*, where *immo* and *immo uero* are frequent, cp. cc. 85 ad fin., 86. See also c. 100, where Apul. has *immo enim uero*, which appears also several times in the *Florida*.

tu potius caducus. Cp. Shakespeare, J. C. i. 2 'Brut. 'Tis very like: he hath the falling sickness. Cass. No, Caesar hath it not; but you and I / And honest Casca, we have the falling sickness.'

3. **potius.** Redundant after *gravius*.

5. **detestari.** Used in a passive sense. Cp. Aug. Ep. ad Macr. 255. The use of the past participle with passive signification is classical. Cp. Hor. Od. i. 1. 25.

7. **contende si uis** is Beyte's certain correction of *contenderi uis* (F). *r*, as often in F, has been confused with *s*, a natural enough error in a Lombard MS. *inuenies* follows the imperative used as a protasis again in cc. 89 and 100 *iube . . . inuenies*.

10. **contrahit.** The verb is used in a double sense. Thallus draws in his hands convulsively during his fits, Aemilianus collects advocates. See *Introductio*, p. lvii.

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 51-53

12. prudens et sciens. Cicero has the expression in *Fam.* vi. 6. 6; *Marc.* 5. 14. Cp. *Ter. Eun.* 72 *prudens sciens*; *Suet. Ner.* 2 *prudens ac sciens*.

CHAPTER 53

1. quod praeterii. Cp. *Cic. Verr.* ii. 3. 35. 80 *nunc illud, quod praeterii, non omnino relinquendum uidetur*. The addition of *paene* (Van der Vliet), though it could be justified from such passages as *Cic. Verr.* ii. 2. 35. 87, and *Apul. Met.* ii. 22, is quite unnecessary.

sunt quae fatearis nescire. For the ellipse of the subject of the infinitive with *fateor* cp. *Plaut. Bacch.* 1013 *stulte fecisse fateor*; *Most.* 1139; *Ter. Ad.* 77; *Hor. A. P.* 418; *Cic. Phil.* ii. 24. 59. Cp. also note on c. 2 *pollicitus ita facturum*; c. 13 *ut igitur habere concedam*.

3. apud lares. The shrine of the Lares was in the form of a cupboard. Cp. *Petron.* 29 *praeterea grande armarium in angulo uidi, in cuius aedicula erant Lares argentei positi*. It would form a suitable 'safe' for other small religious objects.

9. crudae senectutis. The phrase is Vergilian (*Aen.* vi. 304), and was imitated by *Tacitus (Agr.* 29), but in both those passages the meaning is 'lusty', 'vigorous'. Here rather it means 'harsh', 'disagreeable' (from the sense 'unripe'): note that the word *acerbi* has immediately preceded, a word which often has the meaning 'unripe'.

17. stultitia euectus. *Fφ* give *stultitiae uectus*, and possibly they are right. *Apuleius* has the new words *blandities* (*Met.* ix. 28), and perhaps *saenities* (vi. 19). *Paucker (Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachf.* xxiii, p. 163) points out that 75 per cent. of the words in *-itia* have corresponding forms in *-ities*. See *Cooper*, p. 48. *stultitia euectus* is, however, a very simple correction.

quippe qui. Cp. note on c. 3.

21. atque eum interrogares. The subject of the clause changes and the demonstrative is introduced with *atque*. Cp. c. 16 *qui forte constitit . . . atque eum alter e tenebris prospectat*, note.

22. eccille. Cp. c. 74 *eccilli* (dat. sing.). Words like this illustrate a tendency common in conversational Latin that became regular in Romance languages, where Fr. *celle* represents *ecce illa*, and Ital. *ciò ecce hoc*, etc. The same tendency reasserts itself in modern English colloquialisms 'this here', 'that there', etc. See *Lindsay*, p. 433. These forms are very common in the comic poets, but usually in the accusative *eccillum*, *eccillam*, and *eccillud* (*Plaut. Rud.* 576).

24. promus. Ordinarily used of one who 'gives out' wine, a cellarer; here transferred to one who gives out books, a librarian.

APVLEI APOLOGIA

28-31. **adseruabam . . . exponebam . . . commendabam . . . permittebam.** Cp. note on c. 44 *inuertisset, etc.*

33. **indiudivo contubernio.** Van der Vliet compares Val. Max. ix. 5, Ext. 3 *diuiduum contubernium*.

CHAPTER 54

3. **remedio acceptum.** Not a mere medical remedy, but, as Abt says, something that being kept in the Lararium would exercise a sympathetic influence.

4. **somnio imperatum** probably refers to the practice of incubation (*ἐγκοίμησις*), the process by which as the result of certain religious acts divine guidance was secured by the medium of a dream, whether the dreamer was the applicant himself or one of the priests of the temple to which resort was made. This method of consultation was especially adopted for cases of illness. So Aesculapius was the god with whom it was especially connected (cp. Plaut. Curc. 216, 260): but other deities at whose temples incubation took place were Pasiphae, Faunus at Albunea, Amphiarus. An oneiromantic oracle preceded Apollo's oracle at Delphi (Eur. I. T. 1259 sqq.); this oracle was founded by Gaea, the earth and its powers being especially supposed to send dreams to men. The custom continued in mediaeval times at the churches of certain saints, especially St. Michael, and Sts. Cosmo and Damian. For a general account of incubation see Henri Lachet's article in Daremberg-Saglio's *Encyclopaedia* and Deubner de *Incubatione*: see also note on *gallinas*, c. 47.

7. **reprehensum et detentum.** The literal meaning is 'caught and held down', i.e. detected and pinned down. The use of the words is a little unusual, but does not strain their sense. For *reprehensum* cp. Flor. 19 *ut ipse aliquid in illo ex arte reprehenderet*. Van der Vliet also compares Cic. pro Font. 2. 3; pro Cluent. 36. 98; Quintil. i. 5. 33. It is, however, tempting to accept *deprehensum*, the reading of codd. Urb. and Tol., on account of Apuleius' fondness for coupling words compounded with the same preposition; it would, moreover, be balanced by *incertum et incognitum* in the next clause. *detectum* (Fulvius) would also be a little more obvious than *detentum*, but no change is necessary.

20. **sic, ut forte . . . facessitur.** *sic* = *eo facto*. *ut* = *simul ac*. Helm (Philol. loc. cit., p. 576) was the first to propose this simple and certain correction of the MSS. *sicut*.

22. **uotum signasti.** Cp. Plin. Ep. ad Trai. x. 35 (44) *sollemnia nota pro incolumitate tua . . . et suscepimus . . . et solvimus precati deos ut uelint ea semper solui semperque signari*. Mayor on Juv. x. 55 says: 'The wax tablets hung from or fastened to the knees of the gods, were sealed as a sort of contract; if the god failed to perform his part, the worshipper was free from his vow; the tablet,

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 53-55

ever in the eyes of the image, was a continual monitor.' He also refers to Lucian, *Philops.* 20, where an image is described with νομίσματα ἔνια ἀργυρᾷ πρὸς τὸν μηρὸν κηρῷ κεκολλημένα καὶ πέταλα ἐξ ἀργύρου, εὐχαί τινος ἢ μισθοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ λάσει ὅποσοι δι' αὐτὸν ἐπαύσαντο πυρετῷ ἐχόμενοι.

27. *dies me deficiet, si uelim.* The present subjunctive in protasis with the future indicative in apodosis (the common construction in Greek) is frequent in the comic poets. In Cicero there are six examples, including one (*p. Quinct.* 68) where the protasis as here is *si uelim*. In the poets and in silver-age prose it is more frequent. See Dräger, ii. 720. Cp. c. 81 *si contendantur . . . uidebuntur*; 18 *si percenseas . . . reperies*. There are six other examples in this speech of an indicative in apodosis, with *si uelim* or *si uelis* as protasis.

29. *quod conditum cumque.* Koziol (*p.* 231) records this as the only instance of tmesis in Apuleius. But cp. note on c. 98 *si per uerum uelis*.

31. *promptaria.* The spelling of *F* as against the commoner form *promptuarius* is borne out by Ausonius, *Ep.* 21 fin., where the spelling of the substantive *promptarium* is a metrical necessity. Other examples of the adjective are found in Plaut. *Amph.* 156 and Cato, *R.R.* xi. 3. The substantive is found twice in Apuleius: *Met.* i. 23 *ex promptuario oleum profer*, and (of the mouth) *de Pl.* i. 14 fin. *sed homini promptuarium potius rectae rationis et suauissimae orationis hoc datum est*. Cp. Apuleius' use of *exdorsari* for the commoner *exdorsuari* in c. 42, note.

CHAPTER 55

1. *cuius modi* is Krüger's correction of the reading of *Fφ, cuiuscemodi*. The word is common in Apuleius, but elsewhere is always for *cuiuscunque modi* = 'of whatever sort', and is never interrogative. Cp. *Met.* viii. 17; ix. 2; xi. 7; xi. 22; *Flor.* 15; *Gell.* xi. 16. 8. This passage comes between two referring to the same hidden emblems. c. 53 *quae et cuius modi*, and c. 55 *uin dicam cuius modi illas res in sudario obuolutas commendarim?* Here as in these *cuius modi* should almost certainly be read. See Neue, *Formenl.* ii. 453; *Arch. f. l. Lex.* x. 386.

3. *sudores . . . sudariolo.* Cp. *Introd.*, p. lvii.

8. *bibliotheca.* The *lararium* had, with the growth of the Roman house, long ceased to be placed in the *atrium*. In this case (cp. c. 53 *apud lares*) it was in Pontianus' library. For private libraries cp. *Paul. Sent.* iii. 6. 51; *Mart.* vii. 17; *Sid. Apoll.* ii. 9 and viii. 4; *Petr.* 48.

14. *Vlixī.* The Latin name for *Odysseus* has four genitives: (a) the regular *Vlixīs*, e.g. *Ov. Her.* i. 84; (b) *Vlixēi* as a quadrisyllable, e.g. *Hor. Od.* i. 6. 7; (c) *Vlixēi* as a trisyllable, by

synizesis, e.g. Hor. Ep. i. 7. 40; (d) *Vlixī* Cic. T. D. i. 41. 98; Verg. Ecl. viii. 70; Aen. ii. 7 and iii. 273. Cp. *Aristoteli* in c. 40. For the reference see Od. x. 28-55.

15. *manticularentur*. The word *manticula* means a 'little purse', so this word means 'to be busied about purses', hence 'to steal'. Pacuvius (ap. Fest.) is quoted as using the verb and also the substantive *manticulator* ('cutpurse'). Tertullian (Apol. 44) has the word *manticularius* with the same meaning. Cp. Hildebrand ad loc.

18. *Sacrorum pleraque initia*. Apuleius, if the last book of the *Metamorph.* be accepted as largely biographical, had been initiated into the mysteries of Isis at Corinth (cp. *in Graecia*), reinitiated at Rome, and also initiated into the mysteries of Osiris.

21. *quid domi celetis*. The reference is probably to the *cista mystica*. Its contents varied according to the class of mystery. In the case of the mysteries of Bacchus the *cista* contained the phallus, the heart of Dionysus Zagreus, together with a snake, pomegranate, ivy, and *narthekes*: see Clem. Al. protr. 19 and 22; Firmic. de e. prof. rel. 5: in the mysteries of Demeter it contained *σησαμαί καὶ πυραμίδες καὶ τολύπαι καὶ πόπανα πολυόμφαλα*, Clem. Al. protr. 22; in the mysteries of Isis it held the phallus and salt. See Clem. Al. protr. 14; Arnob. v. 28; Firmic. x. 1.

22. *absque*. The word is common in Plautus and Terence, but in classical Latin only survived in juridical language or phrases with the character of legal formulae. Fronto, Minucius Felix, and Gellius use it as well as Apuleius. In the latter it occurs: Met. ix. 25 *absque noxa nostri*; de Pl. ii. 23 *absque hac*. The pseud. Ap. has it in Ascl. 25 *absque invidia*. 'The form *abs-* appears also in the O.Lat. phrase *absque me (te, etc.) esset (foret)* equivalent to *si sine me esset*, where *-que* . . . seems almost to have the sense of 'if' (cp. O.Eng. 'an' for 'and'); at a later period *absque me, etc.*, was used without the verb and *absque* came to take the place of *sine* 'without'. Lindsay, p. 576.

25-7. *sed abhinc ferme triennium est cum primis diebus quibus Oeam ueneram publice disserens de Aesculapii maiestate*. Is this discourse the same as that mentioned later in c. 73? That discourse was delivered some time after Apuleius had been staying in the house of Pudentilla, while he had already lain sick *multis diebus* (72) at the house of the Appii. This discourse on Aesculapius is described as being delivered during the 'first days' of his visit to Oea. *Prima facie*, therefore, it would seem that the two discourses are *not* identical. On the other hand, he speaks of the discourse mentioned in c. 73 as if it were his first appearance before an Oean audience. In both cases he speaks of the intense enthusiasm caused by his eloquence. On the whole it seems probable that *primis diebus* is a loose phrase and that the two discourses are identical. In c. 72 he certainly speaks as though he arrived at Oea in bad health and took to his bed at once, while

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 55, 56

a declamation on the *maiestas Aesculapii* would be a natural subject for one newly recovered from a serious illness (cp. c. 73 *interibi reualesco*, etc.). The chronology of the incidents narrated in the speech is not seriously affected. The discourse may well have been delivered within the first two months of his stay at Oea.

27. *Aesculapii*. Cp. Flor. 18, where we have an *exordium* to a discourse on a similar subject, delivered at Carthage.

31. *dicite aliquis*. Cp. Plaut. Epid. 399 *foras exite huc aliquis*; Men. 674; Ter. Ad. 634 *aperite aliquis*.

CHAPTER 56

2. *mysteriis deum conscium*. Cp. Tib. i. 7. 48 *et levis occultis conscia cista sacris*.

5-7. *lana . . . lini seges*. For this contrast cp. Plut. Is. et Osir. c. 4.

5. *segnissimi*. The superlative is found only here and in Cassiodor. Var. viii. 14; Neue, Formenl. ii. 262.

9. *opertui*. Found only here and in Macr. S. vii. 9. 26. For the combination of datives cp. c. 6 *aliquid tersui dentibus*, note.

11. *facetiae*. The singular is ante- and post-classical. It is quoted from Plautus, Gellius, and Caelius Aurelianus. See note on c. 6 *reliquiae*.

12. *partim Oeensium*. *partim* is an old accusative of *pars*, for the use of which as a substantive there is warrant in Cicero, Sallust, and Livy, apart from its common adverbial use. Apuleius employs it here just as he uses the old ablative *parti* in c. 42. *audio partim* here is equivalent to *audio nonnullos dicentes*. Cf. c. 27 and contrast the ordinary adverbial use in c. 89.

14. *nefas habet*. Was Aemilianus a Christian or Jewish proselyte? If Apuleius' denunciation is accurate, such would be the most natural explanation.

15. *manum labris admouere*. For kissing the hands as a sign of reverence to the gods cp. Met. iv. 28 *admouentes oribus suis dexteram primore digito in erectum pollicem residente*; Plin. N. H. xxviii. 26 *in adorando dextram ad osculum referimus*; Min. Fel. Oct. 2. 5 *simulacro Serapidis denotato, manum ori admouens osculum labiis impressit* (where Holden refers to Lucian de Salt. 17 ὁπου καὶ Ἰνδοὶ ἐπειδὴν προσεύχωνται τὸν Ἥλιον, οὐχ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς τὴν χεῖρα κύσαντες ἡγοούμεθα ἐντελῆ εἶναι τὴν εὐχήν); Job xxxi. 27.

rurationis, 'country life'. The word is only found here and in Flor. 15 *ruratio omnis in sarculo et surculo*. The word *ruro* (= *rusticor*) occurs in Plaut. Capt. 84.

18. *nullus locus aut lucus consecratus*. Vahlen (Hermes, xxxiii. 252) would read *lucus aut locus* on the ground that *lucus* is a sacred grove *per se* (cp. infra *ecquid ego de luco et delubro loquor*), while *locus* does definitely need the support of *consecratus*. He quotes in support of his contention Flor. 1 *aliqui lucus aut aliqui*

locus sanctus. It is possible that he is right, but all that his argument shows is that *lucus aut locus* would have been a slightly more correct expression. He does not prove the impossibility of the reading of the best MSS. (It may be noted that one late fifteenth-century MS. (Laur. 54. 13) reads *lucus aut locus*. But the MS. has no independent authority, and the reading is probably due to a natural slip on the part of the scribe.) But cp. Cic. de prov. cons. 4. 7 *qui locus aut lucus in Graecia tota iam sanctus fuit*. For similar assonances cp. c. 9 *dum potiar, patiar*, and see Koziol, pp. 203-4.

19. *qui fuere*. It is not necessary to alter the order of the words (with Van der Vliet) so as to bring this phrase next to *in finibus*, nor is it necessary to add *ibi*. The use of *fuere* for 'were present' is classical. Vahlen (Herm. xxxiii. 253) compares Verr. ii. 1. 19. 51 *ex quibus quaererem signa scirentne fuisse, quae non essent*. ibid. 5. 31. 81 *tametsi recte sine exceptione dixeram uirum, cum isti essent, neminem fuisse*; Caes. B. G. i. 31. 1; Liv. xxxvii. 8. 3.

20. *lapidem unctum*. Cp. Flor. 1 *lapis unguine delibutus*. The custom of anointing sacred stones with oil has been widely prevalent. Cp. the action of Jacob in pouring oil on the pillar he set up at Bethel, Gen. xxviii. 18. See also Theophrast. 16 οἶος . . . τῶν λιπαρῶν λίθων τῶν ἐν ταῖς τριόδοις παριῶν ἐκ τῆς ληκύθου ἔλαιον καταχεῖν; Luc. Alex. 30 εἰ μόνον ἀηλιμμένον που λίθον ἢ ἐστεφανωμένον θεάσαιοτο, προσπίπτων εὐθὺς καὶ προσκυνῶν; Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. 843 πάντα λίθον τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον λιπαρὸν προσκυνοῦντες; Arnob. i. 39. 22; Aug. C. D. xvi. 38 (refuting a charge of idolatry against Jacob at Bethel); Min. Fel. Oct. 3. 1 (see Holden's note).

21. *adgnomenta*. Very rare. The Thesaurus (i. 1353) quotes Cledonius (Gramm. v. 35. 8) *cognomenta sunt familiae, agnomenta uirtutis*. See note on c. 1 *obiectamenta*.

Charon. c. 23 ad fin.

22. *quod libentius audit*, 'which he prefers being called'. A reminiscence of Hor. Sat. ii. 6. 20 *seu Iane libentius audis*. The use of *audio*, like the Greek ἀκούω, is common in Apuleius; cp. Met. ii. 9; v. 16; vi. 9. Cp. also the use of *male audio*, 'to be evil spoken of', in c. 3.

23. *ob deorum contemptum Mezentius*. Cp. Verg. Aen. vii. 648, where Mezentius is called *contemptor diuom*.

25. *fors anne*. There seems no parallel for this variation of *forsan*. *anne* (a pleonastic form apparently like *utrumne, numne, quone, etc.*) seems to have no marked difference of meaning from *an*. Cp. Apol. c. 5 *haud sciam anne*.

diuini = τοῦ θείου. Cp. c. 26, note.

27. *memoracula*. ἀπ. λεγ.

28. *manum non uorterim*. The same proverbial expression is used by Cicero, de Fin. v. 31. 93 *qui se fatentur uirtutis causa ne manum quidem uersuros fuisse*. See c. 3, note.

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 56-58

CHAPTER 57

2. *animum explesse*. Perhaps a reminiscence of Verg. Aen. ii. 586 *animumque explesse iuuabit*. The phrase *explere animum* is common in Terence. For the form *explesse* cp. c. 83 *complerent*.

6-7. *gumiae . . . lurconis*. Both these words were used by Lucilius, the second also by Plautus (Pers. 421); but they came into the vocabulary of Apuleius, probably not as literary reminiscences, but as surviving in common speech. So too *frutex* in c. 66, q. v. For *lurco* cp. Met. viii. 25.

10. *tamen taedae fumo . . . comperisse*. For the simple ablative after *comperio* cp. Cic. pro Cluent. 45. 126 *nihil se testibus, nihil tabulis, nihil aliquo graui argumento comperisse*.

11. *symposia* seems to occur only here in Latin for a banquet. But it is possible that Apuleius deliberately uses the Greek word with special reference to the Greek society of Alexandria.

16. *oculatus*, 'keen-sighted'. The word is ante- and post-classical with this sense; cp. Plaut. Truc. 489, cited by Apuleius in Flor. 2 *pluris est oculatus testis unus quam auriti decem*. It occurs once in Cicero with the meaning of 'visible'.

Vlixes fumum. Cp. Od. i. 57 *αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς | ἰέμενος καὶ καπνὸν ἀποθρῶσκοντα νοῆσαι | ἧς γαίης θανέειν ἱμείρεται*.

17. *compluribus annis*. Cp. note on c. 72 *aliquam multis diebus*.

18. *in paucis mensibus*. *in* is used with the ablative of 'time within which' where, strictly speaking, in classical Latin the pure ablative would be used. For examples see Dräger, i. 531. The use recurs in cc. 75 and 97.

21. *uincit idem sagacitate odorandi canes*. Cp. Hor. Epod. 12. 4 *namque sagacius unus odoror . . . quam canis acer*.

23. *abusque*. A preposition first used by Vergil (who also uses *adusque*) in Aen. vii. 289 *abusque Pachyno*. Like *adusque* it found its way into post-Augustan prose. Cp. Tac. Ann. xiii. 47 *Tiberio abusque*; xv. 37 *animalia maris Oceano abusque petiuerat*. See Lindsay, p. 595.

25. *quo solo censetur*, 'which is his sole title to fame', lit. by which alone he is registered. Cp. Met. v. 26 *et nomen quo tu censeris aiebat*; viii. 25 *hoc enim nomine censebatur*; de Pl. i. 11. 203 *globorum . . . omnium supremum esse eum qui inerrabili meatu censetur*; Juv. viii. 2 *sanguine censerì*; Tac. Agr. 45 *una adhuc uictoria Carus Metius censebatur*.

CHAPTER 58

11. *si quid eius facere uellem*. Similar partitive genitives of neuter pronouns are found in Plautus, Livy, and Cicero's letters; e.g. Plaut. Mil. 1153 *nihil exferri poterit huius*, and the legal

APVLEI APOLOGIA

formula quoted by Cic. Att. iii. 23. 3 E. H. L. N. R. (*eius hac lege nihil rogatur*).

13-16. *istum . . . hunc*. Cp. note on c. 2, l. 3 *eam*.

assistit, 'appears in my support'. Cp. Plin. Ep. vii. 6. 3. The reference to the *perfectissima eloquentia* of Quintianus points to Quintianus' having actually spoken in defence of Apuleius at the trial, i. e. as being actually an advocate who supplemented the defence of Apuleius. Cp. c. 99 *qui tribunal adsistitis*, note.

20. *in cubiculo suo*. Quintianus must have used his bedroom for a living-room as Encolpius does his *cella* in the lodging-house in Petr. 92 sqq.

21. *non*. The occasional use of *non* for *ne* in prohibitions is found in poetry and late prose, though condemned by Quintilian (i. 5. 50) as a solecism. Cp. Verg. Aen. xii. 78 *non Teucros agat in Rutulos*; Ov. A. A. iii. 133 *non sint sine lege capilli*. See Hand, Tursell, iv. 265.

CHAPTER 59

1. *legistis*. Cp. note on c. 80 *ipsas litteras . . . recitabo*. The evidence was probably read by the clerk of the court. *legistis* will mean 'caused to be read'. Cp. *recitabo*, loc. cit.

4. *Sabratae*. Sabrata is the modern Sabratta, on the coast some forty miles west of Oea. The proconsul had come there to preside over the *conuentus* of the *regio Tripolitana*.

11. *quid sit diei uides*. See note on c. 38 *quid anni*. For the whole passage cp. Plaut. Trin. 811 *denique / diei tempus non uides? quid illum putas / natura illa atque ingenio? iamdudum ebrius*. There is no indication as to the actual hour of the day. The eighth hour (after the siesta) was the hour at which the public baths were normally open in the reign of Hadrian (Marquardt, Privatleb., p. 270). But baths were taken earlier in the day, e. g. at the fifth hour, before *prandium*. The sense of the present passage is that Crassus who is accustomed to drink *de die* has long since fallen into a drunken stupor, or if he has awakened is taking a second bath to get rid of the fumes of his morning's debauch.

12. *lauacro* = bath, a post-classical word found in Gellius, Spartianus, Min. Felix, Ammianus, and Tertullian. It is frequent in Apuleius.

repotia technically means the marriage feast held the day after the wedding, *quia quasi reficitur potatio* (Festus). Here Apuleius uses the word simply in the sense of a 'drinking-bout after supper'. Cp. de M. c. 35 *hic ad conuiuii repotia uespertinus comissator adueniat*.

13. *desudare*. The word more usually means 'to exhaust oneself'. As a transitive verb with its literal meaning it is used by Claudian twice (Epithal. Pall. et Celer. 123, in Rufin. i. 304).

17. **ebrius** is an early correction of *ebria* (Fφ). For the confusion of *a* and *u* see note on *usurus est* (c. 40). The final *s* might easily be lost before *sibi*. Hildebrand ingeniously conjectured a *bria*. *bria* = a cup, εἶδος ἀγγείου C.G.L. ii. 31. 19; Arnobius, adu. nat. vii. 29 *bibebant scyphos, brias, pateras*; Charisius (83. 16 K) suggests that it is from *bria* that *ebrius* is derived. For the confusion of *e* and *a* cp. *hepetia* for *hepatia* (c. 41), *uolarent* for *uolarent* (c. 83), *aliquem* for *aliquam* (c. 97). But *ebrius* is preferable as giving a better antithesis to *sobrie*.

20. **uulsis maxillis**. Hadrian had introduced the fashion of wearing a beard. The general practice was that young men wore a beard (cp. the *barbatuli iuuenes* of Cic. ad Att. i. 14. 5), while about the age of forty and upwards middle-aged men began to shave. See Marquardt, *Privatleb.*, p. 600. Elsewhere we find eradication of the beard spoken of as a sign of effeminacy in the case of a young man (Crassus was young, cp. *iuuenem honestissimum* above). Cp. Prop. iv. 8. 23 *uolsi nepotis*; Suet. Jul. 45 *circa corporis curam morosior ut non solum tonderetur sed etiam uelleretur*.

21. **capillo populatum** suggests actual baldness, but in view of *uulsis maxillis, barba* and *capillo* are best taken as identical.

22. **riktum restrictum**. The MSS. give *riktum* only, and an epithet is clearly required to give symmetry with the rest of the sentence. *restrictum* (Acidalius) is on the whole the most satisfactory correction. The termination *riktum* accounts for its accidental omission and *restrictus* is a natural epithet for a 'grin'. Cp. 6 *restrictis forte si labellis riseris*.

23. **ructus popinam**. Fφ give *ructuspinam*. *popinam* is the emendation of Pricaeus. Cp. Cic. Pis. 6. 13 *cum isto ore fetido teterrimam nobis popinam inhalasses*. Helm objects that *popinae* is required. But the 'cookshop of his breath' is perfectly intelligible as a bolder and more picturesque expression for *ructum popinae*. Purser, who shares Helm's objection to *popinam*, reads *sentinam*, in support of which he cites Claudianus Mamertus, de Statu Animae (Vienna, Corp. Eccl. Script. xi, p. 137. 1) *cernas hic alium situ fetidinarum turpium ex olenticetis suis ac tenebris cloacam uentris et oris inhalare sentinam interque ructandum quas suggillatiunculas fringultientem ab alio, qui stipem suam uariis conlurcationibus dilapidauit, parasitico more laudari*—a passage which, as he says, 'positively reeks of the Apologia of Apuleius. Cp. cc. 8, 98, 75.' *sentinam* is, however, a little further from the MSS. than *popinam*, though it has the merit of being more offensive. We have therefore, though with some doubt, retained the older emendation. Helm's *ructus spiramen* merely gives an anticlimax.

24. **abligurriuit** = 'devour'. The word is used literally in Met. x. 14. For the metaphorical sense here employed cp. Ter. Eun. 235 *patrui qui abligurrierat bona* (schol. *eleganter ex persona parasiti non culpatur quod comederit bona*). The Thesaurus

APVLEI APOLOGIA

quotes also for this use, Heges. iv. 7 *nullus rapiendi finis, quia nullus abligurriendi modus*; iv. 32 *Romani imperii opes abligurrisset*; Sid. Ep. ix. 6. 2 *quantum de bonusculis auitis paternisque sumptuositatis domesticae Charybdis abligurrisset*.

CHAPTER 60

1. **denuntiatione** = *delatione*, i.e. by denouncing the parties concerned upon the spot. The transaction took place two days before the trial (see *nudius tertius* below), and the distance between Oea and Sabrata (see above) was not too great to prevent both parties in the case from communicating with Oea in the few days given them to prepare their case. The first mention of the charge against Apuleius had been five or six days previously.

7. **intercessoribus et deprecatoribus**, etc. 'While Rufinus and Calpurnianus acted as intermediaries and entreated Crassus to comply with their wishes'. *deprecatoribus* seems a little irrelevant. We rather require some word giving much the same sense as *intercessoribus*, and meaning 'bargaining' rather than 'entreating'. It is possible that *depretiatoribus* (Brantius) is the true reading, involving as it does virtually no change. A *depretiator* is 'one who beats down the price', and occurs in Tertullian, adv. Marc. iv. 29. *depectoribus* (Kronenberg) is also possible. A *depector* would be one *qui depeciscitur*, a bargainer. The word occurs in c. 74. It cannot, however, be said that *deprecatoribus* is impossible.

14. **insolita** (Jahn) is a necessary correction for *solita* (Fφ). Apuleius might have said 'they have done this with their usual audacity', he could not have said 'they are endowed with their usual audacity' (*praediti*).

16. **oboluisse**. An ante- and post-classical word. Cp. Plaut. Most. 38; Suet. Vesp. 8, etc.

18. **pinnarum formidines**. A punning allusion to the hunter's practice of stringing feathers on cords to head off the game in the desired direction. *formido* was the technical term for this device. Cp. Sen. de Ira ii. 12 *nec est mirum cum maximos ferarum greges linea pennis distincta retineat et in insidias agat, ab ipso effectum dicta formido*; Verg. Aen. xii. 750 *puniceae saeptum formidine pennae*. The Greek name for the cord strung with red feathers was *μήπιπθος*.

19. **ut ne** is found in Cicero, but not in writers of the first century A.D. nor in Caesar.

impunitum Crasso foret. *F* gives *impunitum* 'foret' *crassum*, while in φ *crassum* precedes *foret*, following the marks of transposition in *F* which are probably by the first hand. The correction to *Crasso* is an early and obvious emendation. Helm reads *impunitum Crasso foret, crassum quod*, etc. The correction is ingenious and may be right, for the pun on *Crassus* and *crassus*,

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 59-61

crude though it is, would be quite in the manner of Apuleius; cp. pun on *oppido* at end of c. 62. But the order of the words is against it; *crassum* comes awkwardly at the beginning of the *quod*-clause and is too far from *fumum*. The reading commonly adopted before Helm is *foret Crasso*. On the whole, however, the evidence of *F* points to *Crasso foret*, though there can be no certainty.

20. *fumum uendidit*. The phrase is proverbial for making empty promises. Cp. Mart. iv. 5.7 *uendere nec uanos circa Palatia fumos*, where it refers to pretended influence with the emperor; Lamprid. Alex. Sev. xxiii. 8 *qui de eo fumum uendiderat . . . in crucem tolli iussit*; xxxvi. 2 *fumo punitur qui fumum uendidit*. See Otto, Sprichwörter d. Röm., p. 149.

CHAPTER 61

1. *Inde etiam*. *Inde* is the correction of Acidalius for *unde* (Fφ). The alternative is with Salmasius to read *unum*. Of these two readings the former is preferable = 'next'. *unum* is a little pointless.

9. *praesto adesset, denuntiaueritis*. Apuleius is very fond of the jussive subjunctive used in quasi-dependence. Cp. 13 *hoc peto audias*; 63 *iussi curriculo iret aliquis*; 72 *orat saltem paulisper manerem*; 77 *suadet pedem referat*. In the *Metamorphoses* the use is exceedingly frequent.

14. *geometricas formas*. These were perhaps models used for the teaching of geometry, such as Plato implies were used in Rep. 510 c, Ep. 312 d τὸ δὲ σφαῖριον οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχει.

16. *mechanica*. These mechanical devices may have been no more than toys or may have been intended to be used for purposes of experiment.

ut mihi elaborasset petisse . . . supplicassem. The pluperf. subj. had a constant tendency to encroach on the province of the imperfect subjunctive. This tendency is shown before the second century: it appears several times in the Bell. Afr. and the Bell. Hisp. (see Sittl, pp. 133, 134; Brock, p. 193). It began apparently with *debuisset*, *potuisset*, and *uoluisset* used freely for the imperfect. The latter tense ultimately went out of use, except in Sardinia. Writers of the third and fourth centuries are uncertain in their use of it (Grandgent, p. 53). Rönsch (Itala u. Vulgata, p. 431) gives many examples (e.g. *timui ne inter nos bella fuissent orta*), and notes the final triumph of the pluperfect in the forms of the French subj. in *-asse*, *-isse*, derived from Latin pluperfect forms. We may compare Met. vii. 28 *donec confoedassem*; Tert. de pallio 1 *ciuitas . . . prosperauit ut adpulsum Scipionem ante iam de habitu salutasset*; ib. 5 fin. *margarita . . . dehausit credo ne mendicius patre cenasset*. In the *Apologia* cp. c. 102 *condonasset*, and note on 44 *inuertisset*.

APVLEI APOLOGIA

19. *interim dum* ego, etc. For *interim dum*, where *interim* summarizes the succeeding clause, cp. Met. v. 28; vii. 26. But in the former case *at*, in the latter *et*, is read in the apodosis of the main sentence and bracketed by the editors. It has been proposed in each case to emend to *interdum*, retaining the bracketed *et* or *at*. See Purser, Cupid and Psyche, p. 67. Cp. also Apol. 36 *interea dum hic quaerit*; 37 *at tu interea dum legit aquam sustine*.

20. *dum ego ruri ago*. The exact date is not clear. It can scarcely have been after Pontianus' final reconciliation with Apuleius, as that took place just before Pontianus' last journey to Carthage (c. 94), while Pontianus not only supplied the wood for the image, but presented it when made as a personal gift to his step-father (see below). It may have been given at the time of the marriage or earlier. The use of the word *pruignum* in the present passage would not necessarily mean that Pontianus was actually his step-son at the time of the gift.

21. *qui mihi factum uolebat*. There is no need to alter the text, as Van der Vliet does, to *gratum factum*; for the past participle with *uolo* instead of the present infinitive is common in Apuleius, and the particular phrase *uolo factum* recurs in de M. 25 *ut id suis manibus factum uelint*; de Pl. ii. 14 *factumque uelle*; ii. 24 *inui-cemque factum uelint*. Examples of other participles used in the same way with *uolo* or *cupio* are in Apol. 95 *neque additum quicquam uelis neque detractum*; de Pl. ii. 8 *persuasum*; ii. 11 *addictum*; ii. 17 *perditum*. The construction is found constantly in Plautus and Terence: Ter. Ad. 372; Plaut. Rud. 1164; Pers. 311; Truc. 877. So too with *nolo*: c. 98 *nollem hercule hoc a me profectum*.

CHAPTER 62

2. *praesens est*. Leky (p. 35) quotes this phrase here and in c. 101 with *est laruans* in 63 ad fin. as examples of the periphrastic or analytic construction of the present participle and verb instead of the present indicative. But the third person singular of *praesum* would not have the same meaning as *praesens est* (which = *adest*), and *laruans*, if not a corruption of *laruatus* (vid. ad loc.), is used as a substantive. Better examples from Apuleius are de Mund. 11 *sunt flantes*; de Pl. ii. 24 *sint regentes*. Cp. Cic. Fam. xvi. 9. 2 *te ualentem fore*.

10. *feri curauit*. The passive infinitive is used instead of the normal gerundive. Cp. Cic. Fin. iii. 19. 62 *ut . . . diligere procreatos non curaret*; Just. ii. 12. 2 *symbolos proponi et saxis proscribi curat*. It is frequent in inscriptions.

15. *oppido*. For the play on the two meanings of the word cp. Introduct., p. lvi.

CHAPTER 63

1. *macilentam* = 'lean' (classical *macram*). The word occurs in Plaut. Capt. 647; Asin. 400. Afterwards it seems not to be found till used by Apuleius.

2. *fabricatam*. There is plenty of authority for the participle being used both passively (as in Verg. Aen. ii. 46 *in nostros fabricata est machina muros*) and as deponent (as in Tac. Ann. iv. 51. 1 *pontes et scalas fabricati*); but here Apuleius has employed it in both ways in the same chapter; see below: *quem mihi Saturninus iste Oeae fabricatus est*.

7. *morem mihi habeo*. For this ethic dative cp. Plaut. Stich. 615 *habeas tibi*; Merc. 988 *vobis habete*; and the common formula of divorce *tuas res tibi habeto*.

11. *iussi . . . iret*. The quasi-dependent jussive subjunctive instead of the accusative and infinitive is found with *iubeo* in Ter. H. T. 737; Tac. H. ii. 46. 2; and also in Livy and Ovid. See note on *praesto adesset denuntiaueritis*, c. 61.

curriculo = 'post haste'. This adverbial use of the ablative is very frequent in the comic poets. Apuleius uses it again in Met. x. 9 *iussi de meis aliquem curriculo taberna promptam* (sc. *pecuniam*) *adferre*; Flor. 21 *quibus curriculo confecta uia opus est*; Apol. 44.

14. *scelestus . . . sceletum*. For the play on two words which only differ by the presence or absence of one consonant cp. Flor. 16 *ante letum abire quam lectum*; ib. *exque eo luxu adhuc fluxus est*; de M. 26 *ante fores uiri fortes*; Met. ii. 13 *fortunam scaeuam an saeuam*; ix. 14 *saeua scaeua*. Cp. note on c. 16 *uel uda uel suda*, Koziol, p. 205.

17. *dispuDET*. The word is found in Plautus and Terence, but only in this passage with a genitive.

18. *larua*. For the meaning of 'skeleton' cp. Petr. 34 *potantibus ergo nobis et accuratissime lautitias mirantibus laruam argenteam attulit seruus sic aptatam ut articuli eius uertebraeque luxatae in omnem partem flecterentur*. For ghosts conceived of as skeletons cp. Prop. iv. 7. 94 *mecum eris, et mixtis ossibus ossa teram*. Also i. 19. 18; iv. 11. 20.

appellitabatis. Cp. note on c. 10 *appellitarim*.

22. *suci palaestrici plena*. Cp. Ter. Eun. 318 *corpus solidum et suci plenum*; Flor. 15 *ceruix suci plena*.

23. *ut decenter utrimque lanugo malis deserpat*. Cp. Met. vii. 5 *et ei commodum lanugo malis inserpebat*. The word *deserpo* occurs only here and (in the same context) in Stat. Theb. vi. 586.

25. *pares pinnulae*. For the whole description of Mercury cp. Met. x. 30 *adest luculentus puer nudus, nisi quod ephebica chlamida sinistrum tegebat umerum, flauis crinibus usquequaque conspicuus,*

APVLEI APOLOGIA

et inter comas eius aureae pinnulae cognatione simili sociatae prominebant; quem caduceum Mercurium indicabat.

29. *laruatus* is a necessary correction of *laruans* (Fφ). *laruare* means 'to beset with ghosts', 'to haunt'. Cp. Met. ix. 31 *quem ad modum laruatus ad inferos demeasset*; Plaut. Men. 890 *num laruatus aut cerritus? fac sciam*. Nonius *laruati male sani sunt . . . incursione laruarum animo uexati*. If *laruans* be read it must = 'an enchanter or necromancer, who assails others with ghosts'. Apuleius turns the tables on his adversary. But the fact that he thought this statue a *larua* would not make him an enchanter. We must with several of the later MSS. read *laruatus* = 'is himself a haunted man'. It would almost mean has 'got bogies on the brain'.

CHAPTER 64

1. *duit deus*. *duim* is an old optative form from *duo*. It appears in Plautus, especially in prayers and execrations: so too *perduim* (e.g. Most. 668 *di istum perduint!*), *interduim* (e.g. Rud. 580 *ciccum non interduim*), *creduim* (in phrases such as Amph. 672 *si situlam cepero, / nunquam edepol tu mihi diuini quicquam creduis post hunc diem*). *duim* was the form appropriate to early Latin prayers, as in the prayer at the *agri lustratio*, preserved by Cato (R. R. 141. 3), *pastores pecuaque salua seruassis duisque bonam salutem ualeitudinemque mihi dono familiaeque nostrae*; it is used even in Tiberius' letter to the senate (Tac. Ann. iv. 38. 3), Lindsay, p. 515.

2. *commeator*. Cp. Met. xi. 11 *hic horrendus ille superiorum commeator et inferum* (Anubis). These are the only known examples of the word. The verb is used by Apuleius in speaking of the *diuinæ mediae potestates* by whose agency *et desideria nostra et merita ad deos commeant* (D. Socr. 6).

3-5. *umbrarum . . . lemurum . . . manium . . . laruarum*. For Apuleius' views as to these various forms of the dead, cp. de deo Socr. 15 *est et secundo significatu species daemonum animus humanus emeritis stipendiis uitae corpori suo abiurans. hunc uetere Latina lingua reperiō Lemurem dictitatum. ex hisce ergo Lemuribus qui posterorum suorum curam sortitus placato et quieto numine domum possidet, Lar dicitur familiaris; qui uero ob aduersa uitae merita nullis sedibus incerta uagatione ceu quodam exilio punitur, inane terriculamentum bonis hominibus, ceterum malis noxium, id genus plerique Laruas perhibent. cum uero incertum est, quae cuique eorum sortitio euenerit, utrum Lar sit an Larua, nomine Manem deum nuncupant.*

5. *noctium occursacula*. Oudendorp compares Hor. Epod. v. 92 *nocturnus occurram furor*.

6, 7. *occursacula . . . formidamina . . . terriculamenta*. The first two words are ἀν. λεγ. The last word is used by Apuleius

again in D. Socr. 15 *inane terriculamentum*, and in later times by Sidonius.

11. *tergo restitit* is Spengel's correction of *tergoretit* Ff. But there is little or nothing to choose between this reading and *tergore stetit* (Helm) or *tergo stetit* (Vahlen). *restitit* will simply mean 'has taken its stand'.

12. τὸν ὑπερουράνιον τόπον *et οὐρανοῦ νῶτον*. *F* gives τοῦτερουρανιον τοπον ετουραουωτῶ. The allusion is to Phaedrus 247 b-d αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀθάνατοι καλούμεναι (sc. ψυχαί), ἥνικ' ἂν πρὸς ἄκρῳ γένωνται, ἔξω πορευθεῖσαι ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ νώτῳ, στάσας δὲ αὐτὰς περιάγει ἡ περιφορά, αἱ δὲ θεωροῦσι τὰ ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. τὸν δὲ ὑπερουράνιον τόπον οὔτε τις ὕμνησέ πω τῶν τῇδε ποιητῆς οὔτε ποθ' ὕμνήσει κατ' ἀξίαν . . . ἄτ' οὖν θεοῦ διάνοια νῶ τε καὶ ἐπιστήμη ἀκηράτῳ τρεφομένη, καὶ ἀπάσης ψυχῆς ὅση ἂν μέλη τὸ προσήκον δέξασθαι, ἰδοῦσα διὰ χρόνου τὸ ὃν ἀγαπᾷ τε καὶ θεωροῦσα τάληθ' ἰτρέφεται καὶ εὐπαθεῖ κτλ. The Vulgate ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ νώτῳ is due to the fact that these words occur in the Phaedrus. But Plato does not explicitly say that the ὑπερουράνιος τόπος is ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ νώτῳ, and this correction of *F* is therefore pointless. Vahlen restored the true reading as given above.

13. *et οὐρανοῦ νῶτον*. For the Greek phrases coupled together with *et* cp. 38 ζῳοτόκα *et* ᾠοτόκα. See Vahlen, Herm. xxxiii, p. 254.

16. περὶ τὸν πάντων . . . πάντα. The passage from Plato (Epp. ii. 312e) is quoted without any verb of 'saying' attached to it. But Vahlen (Herm. l.c.) has shown that that is not an argument against the genuineness of the quotation. Previously Bosscha and Spengel had rejected the quotation as a gloss. For this free method of quotation cp. Cic. pro Cael. 16.

17. *totius rerum naturae causa et ratio et origo initialis*. The language is like that applied to Venus in Met. iv. 30 *en rerum naturae prisca parens, en elementorum origo initialis*. So too Isis in xi. 5 is *rerum naturae parens, . . . saeculorum progenies initialis*. The word *initialis* is post-classical and does not seem to be found before Apuleius.

19. *animantum*. Cicero always has *animantium*, Lucretius and all later writers (save Livy in one passage) have *animantum*. Neue, Formenlehre, i. 407.

20. *sine opera opifex*. For the form of the phrase cp. Met. v. 1 *sine pretio pretiosae*.

sospitator. Post-classical: used several times by Apuleius (e.g. Met. vii. 10 and 14), also by Arnobius of Christ the Saviour.

22. *cogitabilis*. Used again by Apuleius, Plat. i. 9. It first appears in Seneca's letters and is afterwards found in Mart. Cap., Claud. Mam., and Boethius.

effabilis. ἄπ. λεγ.

APVLEI APOLOGIA

CHAPTER 65

4. *ut inpraesentiarum*. Cp. Cic. Brut. 7. 27 *Cleisthenem multum ut temporibus illis ualuisse dicendo*: i. e. 'for the times in which he lived'. See Hildebrand ad loc. Cp. note on c. 48 *inpraesentiarum*.

6. *non argento uel auro, sed ex ligno*. See note on c. 16 *in tumidis*. Apuleius combines in the same sentence the poetical use of the simple ablative of material without a preposition (cp. Verg. Aen. viii. 701 *caelatus ferro*) with the classical use of the ablative with *ex*.

8. *ignoscendi . . . cognoscendi*. For this play on the words cp. Ter. Eun. 42 *qua re aequomst uos cognoscere atque ignoscere*; H. T. 218 *nam et cognoscendi et ignoscendi dabitur peccati locus*; Cic. Rosc. Am. I. 3; de Inv. ii. 105. Cp. note on c. 9 *pro implexis . . . complexum*.

12. *Platonis iam senis*. According to Diog. Laert. iii. 25 (37) the Laws were published by Plato's disciple Philip of Opus, having been left unfinished. See also Christ, Griech. Lit.-Gesch., p. 465.

de nouissimo legum libro. xii. p. 955 e.

18. χρυσὸς δὲ καὶ ἀργυρὸς κτλ. From Plato, Laws xii. 955 e.

19. ἰδίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς. The MSS. of Plato read ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ.

20. οὐκ εὐχαρί ἀνάθημα is Helm's correction of the MSS. εὐχερι. The MSS. in Plato read εὐχερές, while most editors of Plato read εὐαγές on the authority of Clem. Alex. (Strom. 585 a) and Euseb. (Praep. Evang. 99 d). Cp. also Cic. Leg. ii. 18. 45 *haud satis castum donum deo*. Helm's correction here gives a satisfactory explanation of the corruption in *Fφ*. Apuleius slightly misquotes the passage, as he had misquoted Catullus in c. 6 (*pumicare* for *defricare*) or Plato in c. 41 (*ἀμεταμέλητον* κτλ.).

24. *competentissime* = 'most appositely'. The adverb *competenter* is not found before Apuleius, but occurs with some frequency in later writers. The superlative is found also in Aug. Civ. Dei. ii. 11 and Cod. Theod. x. 4. 2.

CHAPTER 66

At this point *F* makes 'Book II' begin. There is no reason to suppose that Apuleius made such a division. The speech runs on continuously, and there would be no parallel for such a division. It must have arisen from the fact that the subject matter of the speech is sharply divided at this point. Cc. 1-65 deal with the charges of magic, cc. 66-end with the real facts of the case, and the charges which were really at the bottom of the whole quarrel.

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 65, 66

2. **altius petere.** A variation on the frequent and classical use of *altius repetere*: e.g. Verg. Georg. iv. 285 *altius omnem / expeditam prima repetens ab origine famam*; Cic. Verr. ii. 4. 47. 105 *de quo si paulo altius ordiri ac repetere memoriam religionis uidebor*.

8. **causa . . . cassam.** For the assonance cp. Flor. 7 *ex rebus pris et auctis*, where there is the same change of vowel sounds.

14. **M. Antonius Cn. Carbonem.** Cp. Cic. ad Fam. ix. 21. 3 (*Cn. Carbo*) *accusatus a M. Antonio sutorio atramento absolutus putatur*. Tyrrell and Purser suggest that he was accused of *perduellio* on account of his defeat by the Cimbri in 113.

C. Mucius A. Albucium. Cp. Cic. Brut. 26. 102 *Mucius autem augur, quod pro se opus erat, ipse dicebat, ut de pecuniis repetundis contra T. Albucium*; see also de Or. ii. 70. 281. Apuleius has made a triple mistake. (1) Mucius' name was Q. Mucius Scaeuola; (2) Albucius' praenomen was Titus; (3) Albucius accused Mucius. Apuleius was perhaps misled by the *contra Albucium* in the passage cited above. Sauppe conjectured *C. Iulius T. Albucium*, citing Cic. de Off. ii. 14. 50. But considering the general inaccuracy of this passage, emendation seems out of place. Mucius can hardly be called *iuuenis*. He was augur and was accused by Albucius for extortion in his capacity as praetor of Sardinia in 103.

15. **P. Sulpicius Cn. Norbanum.** Cp. Cic. de Or. ii. 21. 89 *accusauit C. Norbanum defendente me*. He was very young at the time. Cp. de Or. ii. 21. 88, 89, and de Off. ii. 14. 49. Here again there is a mistake in the praenomen. *Cn.* should be *C.*

C. Furius M' Aquilium. We have no knowledge of any speech by a C. Furius against M' Aquilius. Apuleius has made a mistake in all probability for L. Fufius. Cp. Cic. Brut. 62. 222 *multum ab his aberat L. Fufius, tamen ex accusatione M' Aquilii diligentiae fructum ceperat*. Fφ read *M* for *M'*. The change to *M'* is so slight that in this case Apuleius may be given the benefit of the doubt.

16. **C. Curio** must be C. Scribonius Curio, cos. 76 B.C. Cp. Cic. Brut. 58. 210 *Latine non pessime loquebatur*; ib. 89. 305.

Q. Metellum must refer to Q. Metellus Celer, mentioned as a contemporary of Curio in Brut. 89. 305. He was trib. pleb. in 90 B.C. Otherwise nothing is known of him or of his indictment by Curio.

With reference to the general inaccuracy of this passage it may be pointed out that there was no special need for Apuleius to trouble about accuracy on details of this kind dealing with the history of the law-courts two centuries previously. There was little fear of his accuracy being checked in a provincial law-court.

16. **homines** with *iuuenes*. Cp. Ter. Ad. 562 *hominem senem*; Andr. 828 *homini adulescentulo*. *hi omnes* (Bosscha and Abrami), though tempting, is an unnecessary correction.

APVLEI APOLOGIA

24. **capulari** = 'destined for the *capulus* or bier'. The word appears in Lucilius (Marx 1369) and Plaut. Mil. 628. Cp. Plaut. Asin. 892 *capuli decus*.

28. **Africano et Numantino et praeterea Censorio**. The reference is to P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Minor, captor of Carthage (146 B.C.) and Numantia in Spain (133 B.C.). He was censor in 142 B.C. Cp. Gell. iv. 20 and v. 19; Val. Max. vi. 4. 2.

29. **ne credam**. Cp. note on c. 39 *ne ego reprehendar*. **frutici** = 'blockhead'. As a term of abuse the word appears in Plautus, Most. 13 *neq ueri simile loquere nec uerum, frutex*. So too in Ter. H. T. 877 a fool is abused as *caudex, stipes*.

CHAPTER 67

1. **clare dilucet**. Fφ read *clari dilucet*. *clare dilucet*, the reading of several of the later MSS., is the simplest correction; *i* and *e* are often confused: cp. c. 63 *tempora*, c. 80 *niscit*. *clarius die* (Jahn), for which cp. c. 83 *luce illustrius*, and *clarius* (Helm) are needless. Even more improbable are *claritus* (Krüger, ἀπ. λεγ. in Charis. 214. 4 K) and *claridie* (Ellis), which is never found at all.

aliam rem inuidia nullam. For the ablative with *alius* as an extension of the ablative of comparison cp. Flor. 9 *nemo te alius*. It appears also in Varro, R. R. iii. 16. 23; Brutus and Cassius ap. Cic. Fam. xi. 2. 2 *nec quicquam aliud libertate communi*; Hor. Ep. i. 16. 20 *alium sapiente bonoque*; ii. 1. 240; Phaedr. 3, prol. 41. See Dräger, i. 566.

8. **meis carminibus coactam**. In classical literature it is nearly always the woman who is represented as exercising magical arts to secure the affection of the man; e.g. Theocr. ii; Verg. Ecl. viii; Ov. Her. vi; Hor. Epod. v; and the story told by Apuleius in Met. iii. 16. Where magic is used to secure the affection of the woman, the lover is not himself the sorcerer; cp. Prop. i. 1. 19; Luc. Philops. 14. On the other hand the evidence of the magic papyri and the tablets of 'defixion' points the other way; there it is nearly always the man who, as here, tries to secure the woman's love; for an exception see the Hadrumetan tablet quoted by Jevons, Anthropology and the Classics, p. 114. For the character of the φιλτροκατάδεσμοι employed see Abt, pp. 308-14.

13. **uirus . . . uiribus**. For the assonance cp. Introd., p. lvi.

14. **adnixa effundere**. *adnixa* is simplest, if regarded as a participle. There is no necessity with Helm to suppose it = *adnixa sunt*. But in either case *effundere* will be dependent on *adnixa*. *effundere* as historical infinitive is awkward, followed as it is so closely by *angebantur*. *effundere* is read by some of the later MSS.,

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 66-68

but there is no need for the change. *adnitor* with the infinitive is not uncommon.

16. *mulieri amanti*. In *F* there is a lacuna of three letters between these words, in ϕ of two. In the margin of *F* is the letter *d* by the first hand. Purser (Hermath., p. 385) suggests *deamanti*. '*deamare* seems to have been the regular example of *de-* intensitive; cp. Serv. on Aen. viii. 428.'

17. *nihili*. Used adjectivally, as frequently, like *frugi* or *nequam*. Varro, L. L. ix. 37. 54, says *de homine dicimus: hic homo nihili est et huius hominis nihili et hunc hominem nihili*. Cp. Plaut. Mil. 180 *nihili bestiam*, etc.

19. *demissum* is best explained as practically equivalent to *subornatum*. But the precise significance of the compound is not clear, and it is possible that the true reading is either *immissum* (Lipsius) or *submissum* (Wower). Both these words are used in the sense of suborned; cp. Sall. Cat. 48. 8 *alii Tarquinium a Cicerone immissum aiebant*; Suet. Ner. 28 *submissis consularibus uiris qui peierarent*. If *submissum* were read it would be an instance of the frequent Apuleian coupling of two words of similar meaning with the same prepositional prefix; cp. c. 4 *implexus atque impeditus*; 11 *profiteri et promulgare*, etc. See Introd., p. lv. But there is no particular likelihood of either *immissum* or *submissum* being corrupted into *demissum*, and there is no reason why *demissum* should not be used in the same sense, though there is no example of such a use. [It is just conceivable that *demissus* and *submissus* might have been confused owing to the fact that they sometimes bear the same meaning, i.e. 'humble'. But apart from this there is no plausible explanation for the supposed corruption.]

22. *reapse* = *re-eapse*, an old form of *ipsa*. An archaism, the word having dropped out of use after Cicero, who employs it several times.

oppido quam. A colloquialism. Cicero in his letters uses *mire quam* and *sane quam*. Plautus and Terence have *nimis quam* and *admodum quam*. Cp. c. 48 *nimis quam prudenter*.

CHAPTER 68

8. *nupta fuerat*. For *fuerat* instead of *erat* cp. 72 *fuerat conciliatus*; 94 *fuerat commendatus*; 99 *ratus fuerat*; 102 *fuerat largita*; Met. iii. 5 *adfixa fuerant*, etc. (Leky, p. 39). The doubling of the pluperfect force was probably a feature of colloquial speech. See Introd., p. lxvi.

9. *pupillos relictos in potestate paterni aui*. Sicinius Amicus was in the *potestas* of his father, and his sons therefore are in the *potestas* of their grandfather as *paterfamilias*. See Girard, Manuel de droit rom., Bk. II, c. 3.

10. *per annos ferme quattuordecim*. This refers to the whole

period of the widowhood of Pudentilla up to her marriage with Apuleius, as is shown by *o ingrati XIII annū uiduitatis* (c. 85). In c. 27 we have *post annos tredecim uiduitatis*. The inconsistency is perhaps to be explained by the fact that in that passage Apuleius is quoting his opponents, who may have made a slight slip.

13. [ceterum] filio suo Sicinio Claro. Fφ read *ceterum filios suos sicinio claro*. *filio suo* is a simple and certain correction, but the meaningless *ceterum* presents a more difficult problem. *in ceterum* (ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν) (Helm) and *cetero* (τῷ λοιπῷ) (Kroll) are both improbable in view of *ceteros* in the next line, and it would be hard to parallel the use of *cetero* demanded by Kroll; for while *ceterus* is used not infrequently in the singular, it seems never to be used of individuals, but only with nouns implying large numbers or great extent, e. g. *exercitus, mare, etc.* *iterum* (Riese) does not go naturally with *conciliare*, and *alteri*, the reading of a very late MS., is unlikely to have been corrupted into *ceterum*. It is, on the whole, least unsatisfactory to follow Novák in deleting *ceterum* as having crept into the text from *ceteros* in the next line. Mr. Ingram Bywater suggests *nurum*, which gives admirable sense, but is perhaps slightly too far from the MSS.

15. *nihil se filiis, etc.* See note above on *relictos in potestate paterni aui*.

16. *ex paternis eorum bonis*. The *bona paterna* (except such property as may conceivably have come under the head of *peculium castrense*, of which the *filiusfamilias* had free disposal) belonged legally to the *paterfamilias* during the son's lifetime and was resumed into his direct control on the son's death. See Girard, loc. cit., p. 139 (ed. 4).

19. *tabulas nuptiales*. The *tabulae nuptiales* here mentioned are apparently not the actual marriage settlement or contract, which was signed at the actual marriage. Cp. *tabulae nuptiales* in c. 88. Here the *tabulae* are an agreement drawn up on betrothal only. (It is, however, possible even here to interpret *tabulae nuptiales* of the marriage contract, if we suppose *facit* to mean that she drew up or attested a draft of the marriage settlement which would have been duly signed at the actual marriage before the ten witnesses required by custom.) For the practice in regard to *tabulae nuptiales*, see Marquardt, *Privatleb.*, p. 49.

21. *eo ad dum* = 'until'. *eo ad* seems to be on the analogy of *quoad*, just as we find that Afranius twice (278 R and 249 R) has the form *ad quo* (cp. the ordinary *adeo*) *ut scire possis ad quo te expediat loqui* and *iratus essem ad quo liceret*. For *adeo* used in this sense as the correlative of *quoad* cp. Plaut. *Asin.* 328 *mansero tuo arbitratu uel adeo usque dum peris*; Merc. 77 *adeo dum, quae tum haberet, peperisset bona*.

23. *fratri suo tutor esset*. Sicinius Pudens had not yet taken the *toga uirilis*, and though *sui iuris* was incapable of acting as such.

CHAPTER 69

4. *aegritudinem corporis*. For what follows cp. Plato, *Timaeus* 91b αἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς γυναῖξιν αὖ μήτραί τε καὶ ὑστέραι λεγόμεναι διὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα, ζῶον ἐπιθυμητικὸν ἐνὸν τῆς παιδοποιίας, ὅταν ἄκαρπον παρὰ τὴν ὥραν χρόνον πολὺν γίγνηται, χαλεπῶς ἀγανακτοῦν φέρει, καὶ πλανώμενον πάντη κατὰ τὸ σῶμα, τὰς τοῦ πνεύματος διεξόδους ἀποφράττον, ἀναπνεῖν οὐκ ἔδωκ εἰς ἀπορίας τὰς ἐσχάτας ἐμβάλλει καὶ νόσους παντοδαπὰς ἄλλας παρέχει. So also Hippocr. de genit., § 4 ἦν μὲν μίσγωνται ἀνδράσι μᾶλλον ὑγαίνουσι· ἦν δὲ μὴ ἦττον. The diagnosis of Pudentilla's case as stated by Apuleius is impossible.

5. *tot annis*. Cp. note on c. 72 *aliquam multis diebus*.

6. *assuetudine coniugis torpens*. It is tempting with Casaubon to emend to *desuetudine*. But it is not necessary. As Hildebrand and others point out, *torpebat quia coniugi assueta erat*.

11. *ualetudinem medicandum*. The neuter of the gerundive used impersonally is made to govern an accusative case as in Gk. -τέον. Cp. Lucr. i. 111 *aeternas quoniam poenas in morte timendum est*; Plaut. Trin. 869; Verg. Aen. xi. 230 *pacem . . . petendum*; Varro, R. R. i. 21.

17. *carminibus et uenenis*. The two most essential and important parts of the magic rites are made here, as often, to stand for magic as a whole. The ἐπιθυμία and φυλακτήριον are not invariable in sorcery, but there must always be the words of power (λόγος) and the apparatus of magic (πράξις). We find the phrase again in Hor. Epod. xvii. 28 and 35; Sat. i. 8. 19; Juv. vi. 133, where actual poison is meant. But in the combination of the two ideas synonymous expressions are often used for either or both members of this phrase. Thus instead of *carmina* we have *cantus* in Tib. i. 2. 60; Stat. Theb. iv. 504; Ov. Her. xii. 167; Met. vii. 195; Sil. Ital. iii. 301; Val. Flacc. vi. 448; and *uerba* in Verg. G. iii. 283 (*non innoxia*); Sen. Med. 737 (*non minus metuenda*). Instead of *uenena* we have *herbae* in Tib. i. 2. 60; 8. 17 and 23; Ov. Her. xii. 167; Met. vii. 196; xiv. 21; Luc. vi. 822; *gramen* in Ov. Met. xiv. 34 (*carmine cum tantum, tantum cum gramine possim*), and *fabula* in Met. xiv. 43. 'Singing' is the word for the magical muttering practised in Australia (Jevons, Anthropology and the Classics, pp. 94, 99). If *uenenum* is connected etymologically with Venus it would originally mean a love-philtre, as Skutsch suggests. See Abt, p. 312; Fahz, p. 136.

18. *mendacem memorem esse oportere*. Cp. Quint. iv. 2. 91 *uerumque est illud, quod uulgo dicitur, mendacem memorem esse oportere*; Jerome adv. Ruf. iii. 13 *et oblitus es ueteris prouerbi mendaces memores esse debere*. Donatus on Ter. And. 778 cites the same aphorism. See Otto, p. 219.

21. *Romae agebat*. Pontianus had probably gone to Rome to study rhetoric. He was still a student (cp. c. 73 *non nihil a me in*

APVLEI APOLOGIA

communibus studiis adiuvantur), and it was not till just before his death that he went to Carthage to practise (cp. c. 94 *tirocinio orationis suae*). The letter of Aemilianus mentioned here must have been more or less contemporaneous with the letter of Pudentilla (mentioned in c. 70), which caused Pontianus to return hurriedly to Oea. Cp. note on *quam tamen epistulam* below.

22. *uel potius da ipsi: legat, etc.* It is not quite clear what actually happens. It is obvious that Aemilianus would not read out such evidence against himself. Apuleius' words are ironical. Presumably Apuleius has the letter read by the clerk of the court. See c. 80 *ipsas litteras*, note.

sua sibi uoce. Cp. note on c. 6.

27. *quantumque minor illi sit mecum quam secum dissensio.* Cp. Cic. Phil. ii. 8. 18 *tam autem eras excors . . . ut non tanta mecum quanta tibi tecum esset contentio.*

CHAPTER 70

1. *nubere illam uelle, etc.* It is noteworthy that Aemilianus writes to Pontianus in Latin, whereas Pudentilla writes in Greek (cc. 82, 83). In c. 87 Aemilianus is accused of forging a letter in Greek purporting to be written by Apuleius. Apuleius says that it is in such bad Greek that it cannot be by his hand, and concludes, *hic qui epistulam Pudentillae Graecatiorem legere non potuerat, hanc ut suam facilius legit et aptius commendauit.*

6. *denupturam.* Cp. Met. v. 16; ix. 31. The word is first found in Ovid (Met. xii. 195) *nec Caenis in ullos/denupsit thalamos*. It is sometimes used of a mockery of marriage, as in Tac. Ann. xv. 37; Suet. Ner. 29. But neither there nor in Tac. Ann. vi. 27 does the prefix really signify a sense of degradation or *mésalliance*. Dräger and Furneaux hold that it expresses leaving the paternal home at marriage, Nipperdey that it denotes the firmness of the tie of marriage (cp. *deuincire*).

8. *homini rusticano et decrepito.* So too Aemilianus, his brother, is taunted with his age and boorishness. Cp. c. 1 *senem notissimae temeritatis*; c. 16 *si . . . non modo campo et glebis, uerum etiam abaco et puluisculo te dedisses, etc., etc.*; c. 36 *est iam praecipiti aëto et occidua senectute*. Aemilianus was the elder of the two. See note on *intestati pueri*, c. 98.

9. *nupturisse.* The verb apparently is found only here and in Mart. iii. 93. 18 *gaudes ducentas nupturire post mortes*.

13. *quam tamen epistulam, etc.* The letter was clearly communicated to Pudentilla by Pontianus. It is not quite clear from the present passage whether Pontianus sent Aemilianus' letter from Rome to his mother to ask for explanations, with the result that she wrote the letter which caused him to return from Rome, or

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 69-71

whether Pudentilla's letter was quite unconnected with that of Aemilianus and practically simultaneous with it. *ipsa*, however, points rather to the truth of the latter view. In that case Pontianus probably gave her Aemilianus' letter after his return from Rome.

22. *uirili togae*. Cp. c. 73 *uirilis togae* and notes on c. 88 *toga est inuolutus*, c. 98 *inuestem*, etc.

24. *supremo iudicio*. The phrase is used here and in c. 96 with the meaning of 'will'. Cp. Tac. H. i. 48 *suprema uoluntas*.

26. *recitari iubebo*. For the reading of evidence see note on c. 80 *ipsas litteras*, etc.

CHAPTER 71

3. *unquam*. The MSS. give *quam*, which is meaningless. Mr. Ingram Bywater suggests *unquam*, which is on the whole simpler than the Renaissance emendation *eam*. Helm conjectures *utiquam*. The word occurs in the MSS. of the Florida 16 *apud Persianas aquas leni temperie nec minus utiquam blando fomento gressum recuperavi*, and possibly in Flor. 17 *auibus haec secretaria utiquam magis congruerint* (so Rohde for MSS. *ut inquam*). But the word *utiquam* occurs nowhere else, save in the phrase *ne utiquam* in Ter. Hec. 403 and elsewhere (sometimes written *neutiquam*). This phrase, according to Donatus on Ter., loc. cit., means 'not altogether', 'not quite' (see Hand, Tursell. iv. 181 sqq.). Helm therefore, reading *utiquam* in the present passage, would interpret 'aliquo modo', or, failing that, would take *utiquam* as = *utique* (see Philol., loc. cit., p. 541). This is possible, but he hardly makes out so strong a case as to justify the admission of *utiquam* into the text. Novák would delete *quam*. On the whole it seems preferable to adopt a less daring remedy. But it would of course be fully in keeping with Apuleius' practice to use an archaic word such as *utiquam*, if it ever did exist, probably was.

4. *prae ceteris maluisse*. In classical Latin this would have been *quam ceteros*, and, even if we compare the construction in c. 73 (*ut me aliis omnibus mallet*), *prae* is redundant. Apuleius affected the use of *prae ceteris* with words of comparison; cp. Met. viii. 4 *nec prae ceteris feris mitior cerna*; viii. 21 *prae ceteris et animo fortior et aetate iuuenior*; x. 8 *unus e curia senior prae ceteris*. Koziol, p. 178.

7. *hi*. Sc. the *principes uiri* mentioned at the beginning of c. 69.

13. *omnia, ut saepe fit, in mariti domum conferret*. This would depend on the terms of the *dos*. Cp. c. 91. By this period the wife did not in practice pass into the *manus* of her husband. The *manus* was virtually obsolete, and the wife had free disposal of her property. That Pudentilla was not in the *manus* of Apuleius is shown by c. 101, where Cassius Longinus appears as her *tutor auctor*, after her marriage.

APVLEI APOLOGIA

19. **mussitabat.** The word is usually intransitive, but is found with an accusative, as here, in Plaut. Mil. 714; Truc. 312 and 491. So the gerundive in Ter. Ad. 207 *mussitanda iniuria*.

CHAPTER 72

1. **procationem.** ἀπ. λεγ. But the verb *proco* is quoted by the grammarians as meaning 'demand', and Cicero cites it as the derivation of *procacitas* (Rep. iv. 6. 6).

4. **hiemps anni.** Cp. Suet. Jul. 35 *bellum difficillimum gessit hieme anni*; Serv. ad Verg. Aen. i. 125 *ueteres hiemem anni dicebant ne tempestas posset intellegi*. So too *aestas anni* in Gell. ii. 21. 2 and xix. 5. 1.

5. **ex fatigatione itineris aduectus.** There is no need to alter *aduectus* (Fφ) to *adfectus* (Scaliger). *aduectus* gives excellent sense. 'I arrived after a fatiguing journey and took to my bed (*decumbo*).'

6. **istos: i. e. they were in court.**

7. **aliquam multis diebus.** The use of the ablative for extension of time is not unknown in classical Latin. It is found in Cicero and Caesar: e. g. Cic. de Off. iii. 2. 8 *triginta annis uixisse Panaetium*; Div. i. 19. 13 *multis saeculis*; Caes. B. C. i. 47 *quinque horis proelium sustinuissent*. It became commoner in post-Augustan prose, being found in Sen., Petr., Tac., Suet., Vell. Pat., Val. Max., Florus. Cp. c. 27 *tot annis*; 57 *compluribus annis*; 69 *tot annis*. It is common in plebeian inscriptions.

8. **non ita pridem [ante multos annos].** Helm defends the words bracketed as an amplification of *pridem* 'ne quis putaret dies tantummodo praeterisse'. But it is absurd to make Apuleius say 'not so long ago many years back'; and the sense is not improved even if with Purser (Hermath., p. 386) we insert *id est* after *pridem*. The words *ante . . . annos* must go. The standpoint of time from which Apuleius says *non ita pridem* is not present time, but the time of his first meeting Pontianus at Oea. The interval was probably about four years (A. D. 150-4); see Introd., p. xx.

Athenis, etc. Probably Pontianus had put himself under Apuleius' direction. See Introd., p. ix.

10. **circa honorem meum.** Cp. note on c. 98 *circa puerum istum*.

12. **peridoneum cui concrederet.** The only example quoted of *peridoneus* with *qui* and the subjunctive, but it is a classical and Ciceronian construction of *idoneus*.

14. **uoluntatem . . . periclitabundus.** For this use of an accusative with the verbal adjective used like a participle cp. Met. v. 23 *extremam aciem periclitabunda* (in Met. iii. 21 it is used with a genitive *sui periclitabunda*); also Apol. 94 *manus nostras oscula-*

bundus; Met. xi. 6 *manum sacerdotis osculabundus*; ii. 5 *haec rimabundus*; ii. 20 *indigna murmurabundus*; iii. 1 *carnificem imaginabundus*; iv. 16 *mirabundi bestiam*; Apol. 79 *excusabunda se filio*. Examples from other authors are: Sisenna, ap. Gell. xi. 15. 7 *populabundus agros*; Sall. Hist. Fr. iii. 20 *uitabundus classem hostium*; Livy iii. 47. 3 *haec prope contionabundus*; v. 29. 10; xxv. 13. 4; Suet. Tib. 65 *speculabundus signa*; Just. xxxviii. 3. 7 *meditabundus bellum*. See Dräger, i. 357.

17. *hiemem alteram propter Syrtis aestus et bestias opperiendam*. *bestias* points to a land-route, while *aestus* must mean 'heat', not 'tides', for the quicksands and currents of the Great Syrtis (Gulf of Sidra) would not be more dangerous in summer than in winter, when N. and NW. gales are frequent. The land-route would be by the coast-road to the Tripoli-Cyrene frontier at the Ara Philaenorum, and thence either to Berenice, Cyrene, and along the coast, or else parallel with it inland by Anjila and the other oases, reaching Alexandria from the south-west. This route would be very difficult in summer. The whole shore of the Gulf of Sidra is and was sun-baked sand and gravel desert, the worst piece of country on the shores of the Mediterranean. *bestiae* must mean lions, etc. In winter they would probably be further south, while any that had stayed would be able to get gazelles because of the winter grass and would let caravans alone. Further, the caravans in winter would be larger and more numerous and the beasts therefore would be less likely to molest them. On this assumption Syrtis means the land round the Gulf of Sidra, not merely the shifting sands in the Gulf. It is possible, in view of the Greek mania for Graecizing foreign words, that there is something in the suggestion that Syrtis may be the Semitic *sert*, meaning sand-desert, and originally meant the land, not the water. In any case the name was regularly given to this strip of country. Pliny has *Syrticae solitudines* (viii. 32), *Syrtitides gemmae* (xxxvii. 182), while Seneca speaks of *Syrticae gentes* (Ep. 90. 17 *non in defosso latent Syrticae gentes quibusque propter nimios solis ardores nullum tegimentum satis repellendis caloribus solidum est nisi ipsa arens humus*). So too Herod. ii. 32 τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο . . . νέμεται τὴν Σύρτιν. The sea-voyage would be dangerous both in summer and winter. In summer there would be a lee shore all the way with a very heavy swell owing to the seasonal wind; it would also be slow, because in this region the seasonal wind has a strong touch of East in it, and this would be almost in the ship's eye till it was off Cyrene. In winter and autumn there are bad N. and NW. gales, which are especially dangerous since, unlike the seasonal wind in summer, their coming is sudden and cannot be foretold. The general reluctance of the ancients to travel by sea in winter is well known.

We are indebted for the substance of this note to Professor

J. L. Myres, who adds 'the story of the Philaeni (Sall. Jug. 79; Val. Max. v. 6, ext. 4, etc.) seems to suggest that there was a practicable route round the Great Syrtis, inhospitable as the country is, but I confess that I know no literary reference to an actual caravan on it'.

Professor Lyde, of University College, London, informs us that there 'is still a regular caravan route from Benghazi (Berenice) to Egypt via Anjila, Ialo, Faredyla, Siwah, etc., bringing ostrich feathers, gold dust, ivory, etc., to the sea-board; but it has been so dangerous of late years (from theft, etc.) that most of the trade now goes via Sokna to Tripoli. The Sokna, Anjila, Siwah direct route communicates via Maradeh with Beshir, the extreme SE. of the Sidra Gulf. There is still a trade-route along the coast from Tripoli to Benghazi.'

19. *aufert ut* = 'secures that'. Helm compares Cic. Verr. ii. 2. 59. 145 *ut in foro statuerent abstulisti*. With a direct object *aufero* often means 'secure'. Cp. Ter. And. 610 *sed inultum nunquam id auferet*.

21. *prospectum . . . fruiturum*. For *fruor* with the accusative cp. Met. viii. 12 *nuptias non frueris*; de Pl. ii. 4 *ad fruendum potiendumque haustus inexplebiles*. L. and S. quote Cato, R. R. 149. 1 *pabulum frui*; Lucr. iii. 940 *ea quae fructus cumque es*; Ter. H. T. 401 *meo modo ingenium frui*. Cp. *fungor* with acc. in c. 19 ad fin.

CHAPTER 73

3. *in communibus studiis*. Either 'their common studies' or 'our common studies'. They must have been studying literature, philosophy, or rhetoric, or all three, so that Apuleius might well speak of 'our common studies'.

4. *interibi* = 'meantime'. The word is common in Plautus, but is not found with certainty elsewhere in later Latin.

dissero aliquid, etc. See note on c. 55 *disserens de Aesculapii maiestate*.

7. *congruentissima*. Used three times by Tertullian. The superlative of the adverb is found in Tertull. Pudic. 8 and twice in Augustine.

insigniter. For other expressions of applause see Hor. A. P. 428; Mart. i. 3. 7; ii. 27. 3, etc.

9. *auditorio*, 'audience', so used more than once by Apuleius, instead of the ordinary meaning of the part of the house where the audience sat. It is so employed also by Tacitus, Pliny the younger, and Suetonius.

13. *rerum omnium*, 'trust me in everything'. Cp. Plaut. Asin. 459 *quod omnium rerum ipse semper credit*; Truc. 307 *duarum rerum credit*; Bacch. 504. The genitive is partitive, as we see

from the full construction : Plaut. Asin. 854 *neque diuini neque mi humani posthac quicquam accrednas*. For the usual difference between *confido* and *credo* see Conway on Livy ii. 45. 4.

14. *ni id onus recipiam*. *F* gives *nud*, ϕ not understanding the reading gives *ut*, which has been written over *nud* in *F* by a later hand. *nud* clearly stands for *ni id*. With this change the reading of *F* is perfectly satisfactory, 'if I were not to accept this burden'. Apuleius then breaks off and in a parenthesis explains why the word *onus* has been used, picking up the thread with *si me reseruarem*. For *ni* cp. 77 *ni ita faciat*; 99 *ni impetrarem*.

17. *philosopho*. Sc. on the ground that as a student of ethics he should realize that it was his duty to sacrifice his own interests to serve a friend.

20. *uerbigeratum sit*. ἀπ. λεγ.

22. *anno perpeti*. Apuleius had arrived in the winter. Pontianus had persuaded him to defer his departure to the succeeding winter. This declamation, therefore, must have been delivered in the winter at a time when Apuleius (cp. *peregrinationis cupiens*) was contemplating departure. The time had come for Pontianus to speak.

perpeti. A variant for *perpetuus*. Cp. Fest. *perpetem pro perpetuo dixerunt poetae*. It is found several times in Plautus, but not again before Apuleius. Cp. Met. ii. 22 *perpetem noctem*; ix. 11 *perpeti nocte*.

23. *uirtutum*. This is the reading of *F* which Helm adopts, but in de Pl. ii. 8 and 22 *uirtutum* is the reading of the MSS. *uirtutum* is found among the readings of the MSS. in Val. Max. ii. 1. 9; Mela ii. 3. 45; Paulin. Nol. Carm. x. 34; Jul. Valer. res gest. Alex. M. ii. 21 (28), itin. Alex. 48 (111); Neue, Formenlehre, i. 411. Cp. also *seruitutum* in Plaut. Pers. 418, a suggestion for *seruitutium* (codd.).

24. *peregrinationis cupiens*. Cp. Met. x. 19 *mei conspectus cupientes*. The genitive with *cupiens* is used by Plautus (e. g. Mil. 997 *quae huius cupiens corporist*; ib. 1049 *tui cupienti*). The use is revived by Tacitus, who has it at least six times in the Annals. In Flor. 14 the genitive is used with the finite verb: *adeoque eius cupiebatur*.

30. *uirilis togae*. Cp. c. 70 *uirili togae*, and notes on c. 88 *toga est inuolutus*, and c. 98 *inuestem*.

tunc deinde. For similar redundancy cp. de Plat. ii. 20 *tum post hoc*; Met. ii. 14 *dehinc tum demum*, and the combinations *nunc inpraesentiarum* and *tandem denique*, which occur several times in the Florida and Metamorphoses respectively. See also note on *tum in eo tempore*, c. 37.

CHAPTER 74

6. **animi**. Here the ordinary use, originally locative, found with words like *aeger*, *furens*, etc. But cp. note on c. 19 *huius animi frustra es*.

8. **quiduis pati, quiduis facere paratum**. Cp. Met. ix. 18 *quiduis facere quiduis pati paratus*.

12. **unum neminem**. This combination is found in Cicero (once), T. D. v. 36. 105 *nemo de nobis unus excellat*; Caes. B. C. iii. 18 *eo mortuo ad neminem unum summa imperii rediit*. It (together with *quisquam unus*) is common in Livy (ii. 6; iii. 12 and 14, etc.). See H. J. Müller's note on the latter passage. Dräger also cites two instances from Tacitus (H. i. 82; Ann. xiv. 45), and Sen. Clem. i. 1. 5.

14. **potero**, etc. Out of nine consecutive words six end in *o*. For a similar cacophony Hildebrand compares Tac. Ann. i. 24 *nullis satis certis mandatis*. Cp. also Met. v. 30 *sentias acidas et amaras istas nuptias*, where the assonance is dramatic and effective.

18. **coemptor**. Found only here and in Hil. ad Ps. 131.

19. **fornacula** is not used elsewhere in the metaphorical sense.

20. **intemperantissime**. The superlative is not found elsewhere.

21. **machinatu**. Not found before Apuleius.

22. **depector**. ἀπ. λεγ.

24. **architectus**. For this use (= 'contriver of trickery') cp. Plaut. Mil. 901 *hic noster architectus*.

25. **lustrum** is here used in its special sense = *lupanar*, as frequently in Plautus, and also in Cic. Phil. xiii. 11. 24 and pro Sest. ix. 20.

27. **emasculatoribus**. ἀπ. λεγ. Sc. παιδεράσταις.

28. **saltandis fabulis**. The *saltica fabula* which came into favour during the reign of Augustus consisted of a dramatic libretto chanted by a choir, while the actor or pantomimus illustrated the action by a mimetic dance. See Friedländer, Sitteng. II. iii. 3. For its extreme popularity see Lucian, de Salt.

29. **exossis plane et eneruis**. Cp. note on c. 40 *exossis*. Apuleius describes the dancing of a boy in Met. i. 4 as *enerua et exossa*, which forms seem to be ἀπ. λεγ. *eneruis* is post-Augustan, but has the authority of Petr., Sen., Tac., Quint., Pliny the younger, Val. Max.

30. **histrionis . . . impudicitiam**. The gross immorality of the pantomimi is almost a commonplace in the literature of the Empire.

CHAPTER 75

2. **qui istum di perduint.** *qui* = 'how' is used in early Latin in imprecations, just as are used the Gk. $\pi\acute{o}s$ and *ut* ('how') and its strengthened form *utinam*. In early Latin cp. Enn. ap. Non. 342. 14 *qui illum di deaeque magno mactassint malo*; Plaut. Men. 451 *qui illum di omnes perduint*; 308, 933. For the form *perduint* see note on c. 64 *duit*, and cp. Met. ix. 21 *cuncta caeli numina . . . pessimum pessime perduint*.

multus honos . . . praefandus. Cp. Cic. Fam. ix. 22. 4 *honus praefandus est*; Curt. v. 1. 38 *honus auribus sit*, 'saving your reverence'.

4. **propudiosus.** Ante- and post-classical. It is found in Plautus, Gellius, Sidonius, Arnobius, and Minucius Felix. Apuleius has it also in Met. ix. 27.

5-7. **calcibus . . . canticis . . . comissatoribus . . . adulteris.** The first three are instrumental ablatives, the last is a dative, as commonly with *peruius*. Apuleius, after his manner, is content with a parallelism of sound where there is not an exact parallelism of grammar. Cp. note on c. 47 *noctibus*, etc.

9. **uectigalis** = 'bringing in revenue'. This is the probable interpretation of the much-disputed passage in Cic. Phil. ii. 25. 62. Cp. also Tertull. Apol. 18 *uectigalis libertas*.

10. **meret**, 'earns money', as in phrases *merere equo* = to serve in the cavalry. But the word is used here in a sinister sense. *suo corpore merere* = to prostitute oneself. Cp. Gell. ii. 18 *a lenone domino ad merendum coactus*, and the derivative *meretrix*.

11. **noctibus.** Cp. 97 *magno quidem pretio noctium*; Juv. i. 38 *qui testamenta merentur / noctibus*.

12. **hic iam illa.** 'Here we have an instance of the well-known trick of collusion.' *F* reads *ic iam* (suprascr. *inquam*) *illa* with the correction *hic* in the margin; *ic* is by the first hand, *hic* and *inquam* by other hands. ϕ reads *hic iam inquam illa* with *hinc* in the margin by a later hand. While there is no reason to accept *inquam*, there is equally no reason for rejecting *hic*. The reading of *F* is distinctly *ic* rather than *ic* as asserted by Helm. (For the significance of the sign *ic* or *K* cp. c. 6, where it occurs in the margin of the line *misi ut petisti tibi munditias dentium*; c. 74, where it comes after *inquinatiorem reliquit* and again before *hic est*; Met. i. 1, where it precedes *Hymettos Attica*; and Met. ii. 23, 4, where the MSS. read *comparas ic placito*. In Apol. 6 and Met. i. 1 the sign seems meaningless. In Met. ii. 23, 4 the true reading is *compara sic placito*, while in Apol. 74 it is possible that it stands for *hic*.) *inquam* is undoubtedly by a later hand and does not add to the force of the passage, whereas *hic* does make the sentence run more smoothly. See Purser, Hermath., p. 387; Helm, Philol., p. 529.

APVLEI APOLOGIA

nota collusio. For *nota* *F*φ read *non tam*. *nota*, the reading of several of the later MSS., is a certain emendation. Helm's *non tam concordia quam collusio* is rather lacking in point. *nota* in the sense of 'notorious' gives excellent sense. For the stock character of the *leno maritus* see Mayor on Juv. i. 55.

16. **aliquid scripserint**, i.e. until they have given a note or bond for a sum of money. For this use of *scribo* cp. Hor. S. ii. 3. 69 *scribe decem a Nerio*; Plaut. As. 440 *scribit nummos*, etc.

19. **defaeneratus** = 'exhausted by usury'. L. and S. quote no earlier use of the verb than this, but cp. Plaut. Vid. 89 *defaenerare hominem egentem hau decet*; Cic. Paradox. vi. 46 *ad defaenerandas diripiendasque prouincias*.

20. **undique uersum**. Found in second-century Latin (Gellius and Justin). It recurs in Met. iv. 5 *cruribusque undique uersum cleuatis*. *quoquo uersum* (Met. viii. 27) has classical authority.

tabulis flagitaretur, 'was importuned with bills'.

21. **pax**, 'enough!' The exclamation is common to Latin and Greek. The mysterious words *κόγξ ὄμπαξ* uttered over the initiated have been explained by Mr. F. M. Cornford as *κόγξον πάξ*, 'sound the gong! enough!' (see J. Harrison, Proleg. to Gk. Relig., p. 161). The word is very frequently used by the comic poets in Latin.

22. **negat posse dissoluere**. See note on c. 2 *pollicitus ita facturum*.

anulos aureos. By the time of Hadrian the wearing of a gold ring (*ius anuli aurei*) was no more than a sign of free birth, and the only privilege conferred was that of eligibility for office. See Dict. Ant., s. v. *anulus*.

29. **in paucis annis**. Cp. note on c. 57 *in paucis . . . mensibus*.

degulator. Not found before Apuleius, though the word *degulo* is ante-classical and quoted from Afranius. Cp. the substantive *gulo* in c. 32.

30. **collurchinationibus**, 'dissipations', 'gormandizing', the only example of the word except Claud. Mam. Anim. ii. 9, p. 137. 4 *stipem suam uariis collurchinationibus dilapidauit*, where it is a certain emendation by Schott for the MSS. reading *co^{em} lucernationibus*. Cp. the word *lurco* (c. 57).

31. **dilapidauit**, 'squander', from the sense of scattering like stones. Cp. Ter. Phorm. 898 *nostras triginta minas*; Col. x. 330 *grandine . . . hominumque bouumque labores*; Firm. Mat. vi. 9. 5 *facultates*.

ut crederes metuere. Sc. *eum* as subject of infinitive. Cp. note on c. 48 *negauit . . . passam*.

32. **et morum proborum**. *proborum* is Van der Vliet's conjecture. *F*φ give no more than *et morum*, which is impossible. Apart from the fact that the genitive of quality without epithet is almost unique (cp. Symm. i. 78 (72) *litterarum uiris*), *mores* needs an epithet to give it any meaning. It is simplest to suppose that

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 75, 76

an epithet ending in *-orum* has dropped out owing to the similarity of termination. This is a simpler correction than *iustus scilicet morum* (Acidalius). *morum horum* is a possible and simple correction. But *horum* would in this context mean 'bad', whereas some ironically laudatory epithet is required.

33. *quod male partum erat ut male periret*, 'to make it a case of "ill-gotten ill goes"'. The proverb appears in various forms in Latin literature. Cp. Plaut. Poen. 844 *male partum male disperit*; Cic. Phil. ii. 27. 65 *sed ut est apud poetam nescio quem* (sc. *Naeuium*) *male parta male dilabuntur*.

35. *miseram*. A stock epithet of *ambitio*. Cp. Hor. S. i. 4. 26 *aut ob auaritiam aut misera ambitione laborat*; ib. 6. 129 *uita solutorum misera ambitione grauique*.

CHAPTER 76

1. *tot iam domus contumeliis abnuat*. The reading of *Fφ totam domum* is meaningless. The reading in the text is Van der Vliet's, which forms, on the whole, the simplest correction, though *tot in domum* would be almost equally simple. Helm retains *totam domum* and inserts *sustinere*, for which he compares Dem. in *Neaeram*, § 39 *ἀπέφουσαν τὴν οἰκίαν* (Philol., p. 531). The sense is excellent, but in view of the fact that elsewhere Apuleius uses *abnuere* with the dative, e.g. Met. iv. 13 *Thebanis conatibus abnuentes*, vi. 6 *terrenis remediis . . . abnuens*, the conjecture of Van der Vliet is preferable. It is, of course, possible to take *contumeliis* as an ablative governed by *effeta* and to regard *abnuat* as used absolutely. (Purser in *Hermath.*, p. 387, suggests *tota in domum contumeliis*, which is very close to the MSS. But *in domum contumeliis* is a little awkward standing by itself.) The conjectures involving the change of *abnuat* into *absoluit*, *obuoluit*, etc. (see App. Crit.) have nothing to recommend them.

5. *uidua*. She had been *procis ad experiundum permissa*, but had never succeeded in finding a husband. Had not Pontianus turned up she would have remained, as Apuleius coarsely says, a widow or ever she became a bride. It may, however, mean simply 'unmarried'. Cp. Purser on Met. iv. 32 *Psyche uirgo uidua domi residens*. Cp. Dig. l. 16. 242. 3 *uiduam non solam eam quae aliquando nupta fuisset, sed eam quoque mulierem quae uirum non habuisset, appellari ait Labeo*. Cp. also Sen. Agam. 195 *an te morantur uirgines uiduae domi*, and 984 *uidua ante thalamos*; Juv. iv. 4 *uiduas tantum spernatur adulter*.

6. *domi sedisset*. The phrase is specially used of unmarried girls. Cp. Ter. Ad. 672 *an sedere oportuit | domi uirginem tam grandem?* So in Met. iv. 32 *domi residens*.

12. *flammeo obsoleto*. She was no true bride; the bridal veil was 'out of date'.

APVLEI APOLOGIA

exsoleto . . . obsoleto. Cp. note on c. 9 *pro implexis . . . complexum*.

14. **octaphoro.** Litters were carried as a rule by either six or eight slaves. The *octaphoros* was naturally the more costly of the two. See Marquardt, *Privatl.*, p. 149.

15. **circumspectatrix.** The word is found in Plaut. *Aul.* 41. The corresponding masculine form is not in use.

ostentatrix. Only found besides in Prud. *Psych.* 439 *pompa ostentatrix uani splendoris*.

17. **immedicatum**, 'painted'. The word is the participle of an unknown verb *immedico*. The adjective *immedicabilis* is negative in meaning, and signifies 'incurable'. The only other example of *immedicatus* quoted by L. and S. is from Hil. *Trin.* vi. 3 *aegritudo*, where it means 'uncured'.

purpurissatas, 'painted with rouge' (*purpurissum*). Cp. Plaut. *Truc.* 290 *bucculas tam belle purpurissatas habes*. The word is applied to the *fasti consulares* by Sid. *Ep.* viii. 8 because of the purple robe of the consuls.

18. **a creditore . . . sumpta.** The dowry was borrowed on the expectation of preying on Pudentilla's fortune through Pontianus. Cp. c. 92 *cccc milibus nummum a creditore acceptis*.

CHAPTER 77

1. **rei . . . spei.** For the play on these words cp. Flor. 3 *sed in omnibus ferme ante est spei rudimentum quam rei experimentum*. It occurs several times in Cicero and Sallust. The genitive is used both with *modicus* and *immodicus* by Tacitus (see *Ann.* ii. 73; xv. 23). In both uses he was preceded by Vell. Paterculus. Sallust also (*Hist.* i. 150) has *animi immodicus*, but *animi* there may be locative: Silius and Columella have the genitive with *immodicus*, Persius and Silius with *modicus*.

2. **quadragiens.** Cp. c. 71 *mater sestertium quadragiens possidebat*.

11. **obfrenatum**, 'led by the nose'. Cp. Met. vi. 19 *hunc (sc. Cerberum) offrenatum unius offulae praeda facile praeteribis*; Plaut. *Capt.* 755 *usque offrenatum suis me ductarent dolis* (where MSS. read *ofere natum*). The MSS. spell the word with *ob* in the *Apologia*, with *of* in *Metamorphoses*.

14. **leuitatis et inconstantiae increpitus.** Cp. Suet. *Cal.* 39 *auaritiae singulos increpans*; Galb. 15 *saeuitiae populum . . . increpuit*. See note on c. 2 *insimulationis falsae non plecteretur*.

17. **alumentum**. It is impossible to say whether *F* reads *alumentum* or *alumentum*. After careful examination of the MS. I can find no ground for Helm's note '*I* vid. eff. ex. *l*'. The base of the *l* or *I*, whichever it be, is damaged, but there is no evi-

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 76-78

dence of intentional erasure. I therefore prefer *alumentum* to *adiumentum*, the reading of ϕ . [H. E. B.]

18. *non clam se esse*, 'that he was not unaware'. The construction is found in Plautus and Terence, but not elsewhere. Cp. Ter. Hec. 261 and 424; And. 287. Where *clam* is a preposition, it never clearly takes the ablative except in Lucr. i. 476 and Caes. B. C. ii. 32.

CHAPTER 78

1. *aquariolus*. Paul. Fest. 22 *aquarioli dicebantur mulierum impudicarum sordidi adseclae*; Tertull. Apol. 43 *primi erunt lenones, perductores, aquarioli*. Oudendorp explains the word: 'ab aqua nempe quam suppeditabant foedis ministeriis!'

2. *extumuit*. The infin. *extumere* is found in Plaut. Truc. 199. No form of *extumesco* is quoted by L. and S.

9. *Clytemestrae*. The Laurentian MS. of Aeschylus and Sophocles consistently spells the name Κλυταιμῆστρα, not Κλυταιμῆστρα, both in the text and in the scholia. It is generally recognized that this is the correct spelling, and the word is no longer connected with μνάομαι (woo), but with μῆδομαι (devise).

quas tamen cum saltas. See note on *saltandis fabulis*, c. 74.

10. *animi . . . ferri*. For apparent parallelism cp. note on c. 47 *noctibus, etc.*

11. *cludine*. ἀπ. λεγ. The word is uncertain in meaning and derivation. It is not even known what its nominative is. It has been suggested that it is the same word as κολοιδιον (παρὰξιδιον Hesych.). Another suggestion is that it was a 'property' sword or dagger, which shut up (*claudio*). The context requires some such sense. It is obvious that Philomela, Clytemnestra, and Medea would all need a sword or the like for their several crimes.

14. *illas famosissimas litteras*. See cc. 82, 83.

16. *quas tamen litteras . . . descriptissimas*. A copy of this letter was taken two days previously by both Apuleius and Aemilianus, in the presence of the *tabularius* or secretary of Pontianus, perhaps the *libertus* mentioned in c. 53 (see Vallette, p. 98). This was done at the bidding of Claudius Maximus, and before witnesses. For the dates of the various events connected with the trial see note on *dies abhinc quintus an sextus*, c. 1. It is not clear why a copy was considered necessary, when the original document was available. It was perhaps with a view to ensuring that there should be no dispute as to the wording or punctuation of the letter, which was adduced as evidence by both sides. The original was clearly in the possession of the *tabularius* after Pontianus' death. That is the only possible explanation of his presence. That *tabulario* is the ablative of *tabularius* and not

APVLEI APOLOGIA

tabularium ('a place for storing documents') is certain. To take *tabulario* as neuter it is necessary to alter the text with Casaubon to *e tabulario*, or with Mommsen to *tabulario inlatus a Pontiano*. These emendations are quite needless. The mention of a *tabularium*, whether public or private, is quite unnecessary. The documents kept in the *tabularium publicum* mentioned in c. 89 are public documents, i.e. birth certificates.

CHAPTER 79

1. *quamquam etsi*. Cp. Livy xxi. 19. 4 *quamquam etsi priore foedere staretur*; Dig. xxxvi. 3. 1. 20 *quamquam etsi sine hac adiectione caueretur, uerumtamen patrem . . . submoueremus*; Dräger, ii. 771.

2. *excusabunda se*. See note on c. 72 *periclitabundus*. The word is ἀπ. λεγ.

3. *Phaedra*. See Eurip. Hippol.

epistolium. See note on c. 6 ad init.

4. *commenta est*. Here deponent. In c. 58 *commentum* was passive.

6. *animo*. Van der Vliet would read *ex animo* (cp. c. 3); but *animo* is probably used in accordance with Apuleius' tendency to double the force of the verb with an ablative. Cp. c. 10 *igni deussit*, and note on c. 1 *flagitationibus prouocauit*.

10. *subscribitur . . . scribitur*. Cp. note on c. 15 *iurganti . . . obiurganti*. For the technical meaning of *subscribere* see c. 2 ad *subscribendum*, note.

13. *cuiusuis maleficii postulabuntur*. See notes on c. 2 *plecteretur* and *postulasset*.

21. *sed, inquit, inquires animi fuit*. Fφ give *sed inquit animi fuit*, which is meaningless. Hildebrand suggested *inquires* for *inquit*, but it is perhaps simpler to keep *inquit* and insert *inquires*. There is little to choose between this reading and *inquieti* (cod. Urb.). For other suggestions see App. Crit. *animi furuit* (the form is found in Seneca) is just possible, but awkward before the imperfect *amabat*.

24. *credo nunc quod . . . non amabat*. Cp. for this construction Met. iii. 14 *ac ne tibi quidem ipsi adseueranti posse credere quod tu quicquam in meam cogitaueris perniciem*. So constantly in the Vulgate and Christian literature.

CHAPTER 80

8. *ego insanio*. Yet Lear says, 'and, to deal plainly, / I fear I am not in my perfect mind.' K. Lear, iv. 7.

13-15. *ipsas litteras . . . recitabo*. Written evidence was read in court during the speeches, while personal testimony was not

delivered till after the speech of the advocate who called the evidence. Written evidence was as a rule read by an official or clerk of the court: cp. Cic. pro Cael. 55, pro Cluent. 168. For an exception to this rule see c. 94 *et quidem, si praelegam*, note. *recitabo* is not to be taken literally. Here it means 'I will cause to be read'.

17. *Sustine paulisper quae secuntur*. Apuleius has ordered the letter to be read till he interrupts. He now says 'Stop!' Lit. 'hold up what follows'. In the lines immediately following he gives us a rough outline of what this portion of the letter contained. It is not clear from the text when the rest of the letter is read. It reads in fact as if Apuleius had taken the letter from the hands of the clerk of the court and read the crucial portion out himself (sc. in cc. 82, 83).

deuerticulum, 'the crucial point of the whole matter'. The use of the word in this metaphorical sense seems to be unique. Hildebrand's note 'est ille locus epistolae, ubi se in duas partes diuidit, metaphora sumta a uia' is right. *deuerticulum* means a by-road. The sense here is 'so far our course has been plain. We now come to a point where the roads diverge. My accusers put one interpretation on the letter, I another.'

20. *paulo prius*. Sc. cc. 68 sqq.

CHAPTER 81

2. *uertit cornua*. A proverbial expression: cp. Plaut. Pseud. 1021 *ne in re secunda nunc mihi obuortat cornua*.

4. *fraude* (Acidalius) is a necessary emendation of *laude* Fφ. Helm retains the latter, but as Purser points out (Hermath., p. 389), 'the distinction in villany is sufficiently expressed by *memorabili*, and the villany requires expression in some word. The ablative of attendant circumstance—it would seem that *memorabili laude* is to be so classified—is more awkward than the ablative of the cause, which would be the classification of *fraude*.'

5. *quaesivit*, 'has procured'. Cp. Cic. Rab. Post. 17. 46 *quaerere inuidiam in aliquem*.

6. *fando . . . legendo . . . experiendo*. Apuleius uses the ablative of the gerund like a present participle, which the gerund has actually become in some Romance languages such as Italian. In the later books of the Annals Tacitus combines it with a present participle (xiii. 47 *trahens et interpretando*; xv. 38 *assurgens et populando*). See Dräger, ii. 849; Léky, p. 34. The Vulgate often uses the ablative of the gerund to translate the present participle of the Greek New Testament.

7. *experiendo comperisti*. Cp. the somewhat similar play upon words in Plaut. Truc. 753 *sine experiri . . . immo opperire . . . uis est experirier*.

9. **Palamedes** was famous for having detected the pretended madness of Ulysses, by which he sought to avoid going on the expedition to Troy.

Sisyphus, the master of cunning *par excellence*, outwitted even the archchief Autolycus, and was finally cast into Tartarus for having discovered the amour of Zeus with Aegina.

10. **Eurybates** is mentioned as a typical traitor by Plat. Protag. 327 d (where he is coupled with Phrynondas); Dem. xviii. 24; Alciph. ii. 17. The origin of his reputation is to be found in Ephorus frg. 100. He received money from Croesus with which to levy troops against the Persians, but gave the money to Cyrus. Cp. esp. Aeschin. iii. 137 οὔτε Φρυνώνδας οὔτε Εὐρύβατος οὐτ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν πάλοι πονηρῶν τοιοῦτος μάγος καὶ γόης ἐγένετο. Cp. also Roscher, Lex. Myth. s. v. Kerkopes.

Phrynondas. Another typical scoundrel, of whom however nothing is known. Suidas (s. v. Phrynondas) says that he lived at the time of the Peloponnesian war. Cp. Arist. Thesmoph. 861 (Rogers' note); Aeschin. iii. 137; Plat. Prot. 327; Isocr. in Call. 382 a.

12. **si cum hac . . . contendantur . . . uidebuntur**. Cp. note on c. 54 *dies me deficiet . . . si . . . uelim persequi*.

13. **macci . . . buccones**. Stock personages from the *fabulae Atellanae*. *Maccus* was the fool, *Bucco*, 'fatchaps, an embryonic Falstaff' (Wight Duff, Literary History of Rome, p. 83). For *buccones* cp. Plaut. Bacch. 1088.

commentum. See note on c. 79 *commenta est*.

CHAPTER 82

4. **μεμάγευμαι**. The word *μαγεύειν* usually means 'to be a magus', but it is occasionally used transitively; e.g. Anth. Pal. xii. 57. 3 ἔμψυχα μαγεύων: Pseudo-Luc. Lucius s. asinus, 11 μαγεῦσαι τὸν ἔρωτα: 57 χρίσματι μεμαγευμένῳ: Clearch. ap. Ath. 256 e μαγεύομεναι καὶ μαγεύουσαι.

ἐλθὲ τοίνυν. *F* gives ελθετωνυν here and in the next chapter ελθεπονυν. The second person is required not the third. Therefore Bosscha's correction given above may be regarded as practically certain.

6. **quae Graece interposui** is redundant and unnecessary, but that does not justify excision by Acidalius and Van der Vliet. Apuleius is frequently redundant.

7. **Pontianum . . . ductans**. This accusation of sorcery was made before Pudentilla's wedding. This is explicitly stated in c. 87; cp. *post ista quae dixi matrem suam mihi apud uillam iam pridem condicto loco nupsisse*. The indictment of whose suddenness Apuleius complains was therefore probably not so unexpected as he represents. Cp. also the opening sentences of c. 78.

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 81-83

14. **turbabat**, 'ran amuck'. The word is frequently intransitive. Cp. Cic. Att. xiii. 26. 1; Cael. ap. Cic. Fam. viii. 8. 2.

16. **proquiritabat**, 'proclaimed aloud'. The simple verb *quirito* is used twice by Apuleius, with a transitive force 'to bewail' (Met. viii. 6 *insana uoce casum mariti quiritans*), and intransitively (Met. viii. 18 *et cruorem uxoris abstergens altius quiritabat*). It is probably connected with *queror*, but Varro (L. L. vi. 68) gives its popular derivation 'to make a public appeal', 'to cry "*porro Quirites*"', in the way that the ass tries to do in Met. viii. 29. *proquiritare* is not found before Apuleius. L. and S. quote as well as this passage Sid. Ep. viii. 6 *lex proquiritata*, and Claud. Mam. Stat. Anim. praef., p. 19. 7.

21. **cuiuis**. The adjective *cuiusuis* is not found elsewhere. Cp. *cuius*, -a, -um; see note on c. 3 *cui*a.

22. **principio sui**. Cp. c. 45 *uertigine sui*, and note on c. 25 *ad inuidiam mei*.

24. **adseuerantis quam exprobrantis**. See note on c. 28 *officii gratia quam lucri causa*.

25. **id genus**. See note on c. 3.

CHAPTER 83

4. οἰκεῖον ἡμῖν is the reading of *F*. Salmasius unnecessarily emended to ὑμῖν. ἡμῖν = 'to all of us', i. e. the family.

ποιεῖσθαι is Spengel's correction of ποθῆσαι. The Vulgate ποιῆσαι fails to explain the presence of θ.

5. κατήγοροι ἡμῶν κακοήθεις. *F* reads νυνδεως μακαροισμῶ καικοη θεις. In the margin is written by another hand μακαριοι (suprascr. μοχθηροι). μοχθηροι is in itself not unsatisfactory, but fails to account for ἡμῶν. Diels conjectures κατήγοροι, holding that the scribe found ματηγοροι (suprascr. τα) in the archetype. The sense is excellent. Helm conjectures κακήγοροι ἡμῶν καὶ κακοήθεις, holding that ηγ was accidentally omitted and κακοροι corrupted into μακαροι (Philol., p. 546). In his text he accepts Diels' conjecture, which is slightly nearer the MSS. No other conjectures account either for μακαροι or for ημων.

8. uocales uocem usurparent. See Introd., p. lvii.

10. pinnis apta = πτερόεντα. Cp. Flor. 15 *uerba quae uolantia poetae appellant*, where, as here, Homer is alluded to in the plural.

17. **nec auscultarent**. *nec* is here used as a simple negative. The use is archaic, surviving in classical Latin in words such as *necopinatus*, and perhaps *negotium*. Livy has *nec procul* for *non procul* i. 25. 10, and Vergil (Ecl. ix. 6) *quod nec uertat bene*, where, as here, it is used for *ne*.

sibi potius audirent. For *audio* with the dative cp. Pac. ap. Cic. Div. i. 57. 131 *nam istis, qui linguam auium intellegunt, . . . magis audiendum . . . censeo*, and the common phrase *dicto audiens*.

22. *ueritas olim interuersa nunc se effert et uelut alto barathro calumnia se mergit.* *F*φ read *se fert* and *calumnias emergit.* *effert* and *se mergit* are obvious and certain corrections. *effert* is the correction of a late hand in the margin of φ, while *se mergit* is the correction of Elmenhorst. For the metaphor cp. Lucian, Cal. ad fin. ὡς εἰ γε τῶν θεῶν τις ἀποκαλύψειν ἡμῶν τοὺς βίους, οἵχουτ' ἂν φεύγουσα ἐς τὸ βάραθρον ἢ διαβολὴν χώραν οὐκ ἔχουσα, ὡς ἂν πεφωτισμένων τῶν πραγμάτων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας. Other suggestions need no mention. See, however, for a different view of the passage, Helm in Philol., loc. cit., p. 580.

CHAPTER 84

3. *obcantata*, 'bewitched'. Not found before Apuleius.

4. *amens, amans.* For the play upon words cp. Plaut. Merc. 81 *amens amansque ui animum affirmo meum*; Ter. And. 218 *inceptio est amentium, haud amantium*; Livy iii. 47. 4 *tanta uis amentiae uerius quam amoris mentem turbauerat.*

οὗτ' ἐρῶ τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἐκφ. *F* gives οὐττερω τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἐκφ. From the first eight letters we get οὗτ' ἐρῶ, τε having been accidentally repeated by the scribe. That the remaining words must mean 'I am the slave of fate' is obvious. No correction can from the very nature of the case be considered certain. Spengel conjectured ἐκφέρουσα, but the participle hardly gives the required vigour of statement. ἐκφέρω would be preferable. Failing this Rossbach's τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἔχω, or Diels' τῇ εἰμαρμένῃ εἶκω, are closest to the MS. It is possible that, as Helm suggests in his App. Crit., Apuleius did not finish the sentence, which might have run τὴν δὲ εἰμαρμένην ἐκφεύγειν τίς ἂν δύναιτο;

13. *bene, quod . . . adseruauit.* Cp. 36 *bene quod apud te causa agitur.*

14. *festinatio iudicii.* Events had moved so rapidly that Apuleius' opponents had had no time to tamper with the letter. This had been prevented by the order given by Claudius Maximus that copies should be taken of the letter before witnesses. Cp. c. 78 *quas tamen litteras . . . descripsimus.*

18. *subneruiasti.* This word is used in the literal sense of 'hamstring' in Tertullian and the Vulgate, but only in Apuleius with the metaphorical meaning of 'refute'. Both *neruiæ* (Varro ap. Non., p. 215, and Gell. ix. 7. 3) and *neruia* (Varro, l. c., and Petr. 45) are found. Apuleius uses the word *eneruare* with the literal meaning in Met. viii. 30 *qui poplites meos eneruare secure sua comminaretur.*

19. *uti adsolet.* *adsolet* is impersonal, as frequently. It is not implied that Pudentilla often wrote *secretas litteras de amore* to her son, but merely makes the general statement that such letters are generally secret. Van der Vliet placed *uti adsolet* after *secretis.*

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 83-85

This makes the sense more obvious, but is quite unnecessary. There is no obscurity.

22. *sumne ego inscitus qui postulo*. For this indicative which is somewhat rare and poetical in classical Latin cp. Roby, § 1683, and Hor. A. P. 301 *o ego laeuis qui purgor bilem*. Contrast D. Socr. prol. 4 *ne ego inscita quae . . . frustra certauerim*.

CHAPTER 85

2. *hocusque*. *hoc* an old form of the adverb instead of *huc*, found in the comic poets and in one passage of Vergil, Aen. viii. 423 *hoc tunc ignipotens caelo descendit ab alto*. See Lindsay, p. 568.

4. *proconsulari*. Here, as in the last lines of the speech, *Fφ* give *φcōs* where an oblique case is required. That *proconsulari* (Helm) or *proconsulis* (Van der Vliet), not *proconsuli* (Krüger), is the true reading is certain. The words *apud uirum sanctissimum Claudium Maximum*, which follow immediately, make *proconsuli* impossible.

5. *ante has imperatoris Pii statuas*. Antoninus, the successor of Hadrian, received the title of Pius in October, A. D. 138, and died March, A. D. 161.

7. *exacerbescat*. Found also in Sid. Ep. ultime, 'vile creature'. Cp. Met. ix. 17 *ad haec ultima pistoris illa uxor*; and, as here, in the vocative, Met. iii. 16 *tune, ultima, non cessas subinde lectorum iuuenum capillamenta surripere?* It is like the modern colloquial expression of disparagement, 'the limit'. Cp. the use of *extremus* and *infimus* (the MSS. read *infirmus*) in Met. iv. 31 *uirgo ista amore fragrantissimo teneatur hominis extremi . . . tamque infimi ut per totum orbem non inueniat comparem*; also v. 24 *extremi hominis*.

10. *ne mater tua, non dico amatrix, sed ne omnino femina sit. nihilne tu, etc.* *sit* is Van der Vliet's correction of *est Fφ*, while *nihil* is inserted by Helm before the *ne tu* of *Fφ*, a negative being required to justify the subsequent *nisi*. Van der Vliet inserts *nihil* before *cogitas* and regards *ne* as = 'verily'.

13. *uterum*. The nominative is generally *uterus* (masc.). For the neuter cp. Plaut. Aul. 691 *obsecro te, uterum dolet*; Turpil. Com. 179 *disperii misera: ut uterum cruciatur mihi*; Afran. Com. 346 *sedit uterum*.

14. *o ingrati quattuordecim anni*. Cp. c. 68 *per annos ferme quattuordecim*, note.

uipera, ut audio, etc. This superstition arises from the fact that the viper does not lay eggs, but is viviparous. Cp. Plin. x. 170.

17. *uiuenti et uidenti*. A variation on the proverbial phrase in which *uiuus* (not *uiuens*) is coupled to *uidens*. Cp. Ter. Eun. 73 *uiuus uidensque pereō*; Lucr. iii. 1046; Cic. Quinct. 15. 50; Sest. 27. 59.

APVLEI APOLOGIA

18. *uiscera intima protrahuntur*. Cp. Met. vi. 32 *cum canes et uultures intima protrahent uiscera*.

20. *ob acquisitam hereditatem*. Sc. the inheritance of his father's property secured to him by Pudentilla's continual postponement of her marriage with Sicinius Clarus. See c. 68 ad fin.

23. *uorsus non ignotus*. The author is unknown. See Ribbeck, Sc. R. P. F. II. inc. fab. fr. 78, p. 151.

29. *nondum poenae, iam iniuriae sufficit*. Cp. c. 2 *nomine Pudentis, etc.*, note.

CHAPTER 86

1. *Athenienses quidem, etc.* For this story cp. Plut. Demetr. c. 22.

8. *tu tamen filius, etc.* *tamen* does not contrast Pudens with the Athenians. That is precluded by the fact that the words *tales hostes aduersus hostem; tu qualis filius aduersus matrem! uides quam similia contendam* have preceded. *tamen* means 'in spite of the fact that you are her son and she is your mother'. See Helm, Philol., loc. cit., p. 582.

11. *auderes* is the reading of *Fφ*. The sense is: 'If ordered to recite an obscene passage from some poet, you would not dare to do so; you would still, bad as you are, be hindered by shame. And yet you violate the privacy of your mother's life in this way!' There is no need to read *abnueres* with Wower. The sense would then be: 'If ordered to read an obscene passage, you would not refuse, though you might be hampered by a sense of shame.' This emendation weakens the force of the passage and is due to inability to see the meaning of *tamen*. See Helm, Philol., loc. cit., p. 581.

12. *ullas alias litteras*. Sc. *liberales*. Cp. Cic. Phil. ii. 8. 20 *te neque illos neque ullas omnino litteras nosse*.

17. *obliuio capesseret*. *obliuio* is Casaubon's emendation of *optuto* (*F*). Helm would read *obtutu* and explain the passage as meaning 'that you might not have sinned but once and that Pontianus might see with his own eyes your virtuous act'. Apart from the fact that *obtutu capesseret* is a somewhat strange phrase in this context, and that the omission of the subject Pontianus is very awkward, we require *ut*, not *ne*, to govern *capesseret*. The whole passage on Helm's interpretation is written with incredible carelessness, and would have appeared unintelligible to Apuleius' audience. The emendation of Casaubon removes all difficulty, gives admirable sense, and involves the slightest of changes. See Helm, Philol., loc. cit., p. 584.

21. *uolpionem*, 'sly fox'; δπ. λεγ.

CHAPTER 87

7. **blandirem.** A rare and late verb instead of the ordinary deponent *blandior*. So too *adulo* for *adulor* in Met. v. 14. In Met. v. 31 the MSS. read *blandiebantur*. Isid. iii. 20. 14 has *blandiat*, but there Otto reads *blandiatur*. In c. 48 Apuleius uses the participle *blanditus* as a deponent, while in c. 53 we find *nemo tibi blandiatur*. It is possible that we should read *blandirer* here.

11. **nequaquam Graecae linguae imperitum.** Cp. c. 4 *tam Graece quam Latine*, note.

13. **tabernariis.** This seems to be the only example of the adjective except in the technical sense of the comedy of low life (sc. *fabulae*). The sense is probably 'low', 'pot-house'. On the other hand Mayor on Juv. viii. 161 *hospitis adfectu* explains this passage as referring to the invitations addressed by *caupones* to passers-by. He compares Cic. Cluent. 163 *si inuitauerit (caupo) id quod solet*; Plut. de vitioso pudore viii. 532 c *ὅτι πολλάκις ὁ πανδοκεὺς ἡσπάσατο ἡμᾶς*. If his view is correct, the word must mean not 'such as would be used in a pot-house', but 'such as would be used by an innkeeper'. Oudendorp compares Ar. Eq. 216 *ὑπογλυκαίνων ῥηματίοις μαγειρικοῖς*.

subigitarem. Used for 'to work upon' only here and in M. Aurel. ap. Front. Ep. ad M. Caes. iv. 5 *igitur Tiberius bibliothecarius tibi subigitandus est, aliquid in eam rem insumendum, quod mihi ille, ut ad urbem uenero, aequa diuisione impertiat*.

16. **hanc ut suam.** This letter was presumably forged by Rufinus. Apuleius says that the badness of the Greek suggests that it was written by the man who so grossly misinterpreted the Greek letter of Pudentilla. That Rufinus was the chief offender in the matter of Pudentilla's letter is asserted in cc. 81, 82, 83. It is possible that Aemilianus may have forged the letter, but he is only associated with the letter of Pudentilla in two passages (78 ad fin. and 83 ad init.), where he is mentioned as taking a copy of the letter conjointly with Apuleius for the purpose of putting it in as evidence.

aptius commendauit, i.e. 'set it off to greater advantage, because it was his own and he could read it'.

17. **dictum habebō** here seems indistinguishable from *dixero*. *compertum habebatis* (c. 63) and *compertum habeas* (c. 85) are examples of a classical construction found in Cicero and Caesar. See Sidey, p. 19.

18. **dissimulamenti causa.** Cp. Flor. 3 *dissimulamenti gratia*. The word does not seem to occur outside these two passages. See note on c. 1 *obiectamenta*.

23-4. **uilliconum . . . equisonum.** *uillico*: ἀπ. λεγ. *equiso* is found in Val. Max. and in Varro ap. Non.

APVLEI APOLOGIA

24. **subscripsisse**, 'she set her signature to the accounts with the greatest intelligence', i.e. she examined them with care and signed them when found correct.

CHAPTER 88

3. **sportulas**. For the practice of giving largesse at weddings and on occasion of assuming *toga uirilis*, cp. Plin. Trai. 116 (117) *qui uirilem togam sumunt uel nuptias faciunt uel ineunt magistratum uel opus publicum dedicant, solent totam bulen atque etiam e plebe non exiguum numerum uocare binosque denarios uel singulos dare. quod an celebrandum et quatenus putes rogo scribas. ipse enim sicut arbitror, praesertim ex sollemnibus causis, concedendas esse inuitationes, ita uereor ne ii qui mille homines, interdum etiam plures uocant, modum excedere et in speciem dianomes incidere uideantur*. Pliny's request for guidance suggests that the practice of giving such wholesale largesse was one with which he was not wholly familiar, and that the practice was of recent date. Cp. also Symm. Ep. iv. 55 ; ix. 106 (97).

6. **toga est inuolutus**. This probably took place about the age of sixteen (see appendix to Introd., ch. 1). This statement is inconsistent with another made in c. 98, that Pudens only assumed the *toga uirilis* after the death of Pontianus, when he fell under the influence of Aemilianus, whom he had not previously known even by sight. It is impossible to decide between these two statements. One must be false. The latter seems the least probable. Further, before Apuleius' arrival at Oea (see c. 70) Pudentilla had described Pudens as *togae uirili idoneus*. A possible reconciliation would be that Pudentilla had allotted the requisite sum, but that the ceremony had not taken place. But the statement in c. 98 would still be hopelessly disingenuous.

6, 7. **conuiuuiis . . . supersederemus**. Cp. c. 17 *huic maledicto supersedisset*.

10. **in uilla suburbana**. The same prejudice against marriage *in uilla* is found in Met. vi. 9, where Venus complains with regard to Cupid's union with Psyche: *impares enim nuptiae et praeterea in uilla sine testibus, etc.* This is perhaps a reminiscence of the accusation brought against Apuleius himself. To be married *in uilla* was, as Apuleius points out later, not in the least illegal. The point which both Apuleius' accusers and Venus evidently tried to make was that persons to whom their marriage brings no shame are married publicly. This marriage, they urge, was a hole-and-corner affair. The inference is that it was discreditable. In the passage cited from the Metamorphoses Venus does further urge the illegality of the marriage; cp. *sine testibus, etc.*

14. **lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus**. The reference is to

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 87, 88

the laws of Augustus for the regulation and promotion of marriage : (1) *lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus*, 18 B.C. ; (2) *lex Iulia et Papia Poppaea de m. ord.*, 9 B.C.

15. *nusquam sui*. Accepting this emendation of Rohde, cp. c. 95 *undique sui*.

19. *silice* (Ital. *selce*) is really lava, which was used in great quantities in Rome and other Italian cities for paving streets. See Plin. xxxvi. 135 ; Vitr. ii. 7.

20. *enim* strengthens *uel* as in other passages *sed, immo*, and *et* Cp. Flor. i, de deo Socr. 9.

23. *de proximo*, 'closely'. The phrase also appears in Met. ii. 4 ; iv. 21 ; xi. 6 and 23. Plautus uses also *e proximo* and *in proximo*. For the form of expression see note on c. i *de composito*.

25. *παίδων ἐπ' ἀρότῳ, γνησίων ἐπὶ σπορᾷ*. There can be no doubt that this is the reading indicated by *F* παιδων επαρογονισιον επισπορα. The exact line has not been found in fragments of the comedians, but lines closely resembling it have been found: (1) Menand. περικειρ. (Koerte, i. 435, p. 139 ; Pap. Oxyr. ii, no. 211, l. 38), ταύτην γνησίων | παιδων ἐπ' ἀρότῳ σοι δίδωμι. (2) Menand. Fr. incert. 185 (Meineke) (Clem. Alex. Strom. ii. 137) παιδων ἐπ' ἀρότῳ γνησίων | δίδωμι σοί γε τὴν ἐμαιοῦ θυγατέρα. (3) Schol. in Eur. Andr. 4. γνησίων ἐπὶ σπορᾷ παιδων. (4) Pap. Oxyr. iii, no. 429. (Koerte in Menandrea (Teubner) identifies (2) and (3), probably rightly ; but the reading in Clem. Alex. loc. cit. is not quite certain.) (5) Lucian, Timon 17 ἐπ' ἀρότῳ παιδων γνησίων, where the words are not specifically quoted from any poet, but used as a familiar formula requiring no comment. *παίδων ἐπ' ἀρότῳ γνησίων* seems to have been the regular formula in marriage contracts. The passages cited suggest that Apuleius was fully justified in styling the line as *in comoediis celeberrimus*, while the passage cited from the scholiast to Eurip. Andr. 4 makes it necessary to retain the words *ἐπὶ σπορᾷ*. It is, of course, possible that Apuleius has blended two different lines into one or that *ἐπὶ σπορᾷ* has found its way into the text through some scribe or reader who knew (3), or again that it is a gloss on *ἐπ' ἀρότῳ*.

The parallelism of the productivity of the earth and the human mother is a commonplace in Greek poetry ; cp. the following passages collected by Dieterich (Mutter Erde, p. 47) from Greek tragedy : Aesch. Sept. 753 ; Soph. Ant. 569 ; O. T. 1210, 1256, 1485 ; Trach. 32 ; Eur. Med. 1280 ; Phoen. 18. So Artemidorus, Oneirocrit. i. 51, p. 45, in speaking of the significance of dreams ; γεωργεῖν ἢ σπεῖρειν ἢ φυτεύειν ἢ ἀροτριᾶν ἀγαθὸν τοῖς γῆμαι προηρημένοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπαισιν. ἄρουρα μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ γυνή, σπέρματα δὲ καὶ φυτὰ οἱ παῖδες, πυροὶ μὲν υἱοί, κριθαὶ δὲ θυγατέρες, ὅσπρια δὲ τὰ ἐξ-αμβλώματα ; ibid. i. 79, p. 73 καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐδὲ αὐτὴν οὐδὲν ἥττον μητέρα καλοῦμεν. See also Abt, p. 316.

APVLEI APOLOGIA

26. **Quintis et Serranis.** The reference in *Quintis* is to L. Quintius Cincinnatus, like Serranus (see c. 10) called from the fields to the command of an army. He was dictator in the campaign against the Aequi in 458 B.C. Serranus, on the other hand, was summoned to be consul.

Quintis the dative plural of *Quintius*: for the contraction cp. c. 93 in *praedis*, and c. 38 *differentis*, note.

28. **cohibebo me.** Fφ give *cohibebam me*. *cohibebo* (v) is the simplest correction. The error arose from the duplication of the *m* of *me*. For the confusion of *a* and *o* cp. c. 1 *accepit* for *occepit*; c. 60 *damna* for *damno*, etc. (see Purser, *Hermath.*, p. 391). *cohibebo* is more natural than the hortative *cohibeam* read by Helm. See note on *recitem*, c. 9.

CHAPTER 89

5. **professus est.** The father of a child was bound within thirty days of his child's birth to declare its name and the day of its birth, if at Rome to the *praefectus aerarii*, if in the provinces to the *tabularii publici*. Copies of this declaration were made, one being kept by the parent, one preserved in the *tabularium*. This practice is usually said to have been established by Marcus Aurelius. Cp. Capitol. M. Ant. ph. 9 *inter haec liberales causas ita munivit, ut primus iuberet apud praefectos aerarii Saturni unumquemque civium natos liberos profiteri intra tricesimum diem nomine imposito. per prouincias tabulariorum publicorum usum instituit, apud quos idem de originibus fieret quod Romae apud praefectos aerarii, ut si forte aliquis in prouincia natus causam liberalem diceret, testationes inde ferret.* The present passage, however, shows Capitolinus to be wrong, since the certificate of Pudentilla's birth must date from the reign of Trajan, or of Hadrian at latest, while the speech itself is delivered in the closing years of Antoninus Pius. Cp. Serv. ad Verg. Georg. ii. 502.

The most probable explanation is that Marcus Aurelius standardized what was already the practice in many parts of the Empire. The only other piece of evidence for the existence of this practice before M. Aurelius is to be found in S. de Ricci et P. F. Girard, *Textes juridiques latins inédits découverts en Égypte*, Nouv. Rev. hist. de droit français et étr. 1906, p. 477, no. 4, Diptychon of 3 Nov. 148 A.D. *descriptum et recognitum factum ex tabula albi professionum liberorum natorum quae proposita erat in atrio magno in quo scriptum fuit id quod infra scriptum est.* See Archiv für Papyrusforschung (U. Wilcken), p. 252, and W. Levison, *Die Beurkundung d. Zivilstandes im Altertum*, Bonn. Diss. 1898, pp. 12, 13.

6. **tabulario publico.** For this ablative of place without a preposition cp. Met. i. 21 *dīc . . . quibus deuersetur aedibus*; xi. 2 *nunc*

circumfluo Paphi sacrario coleris; iv. 26 templis et aedibus publicis uictimas immolabat.

7. *tibi ob os obiciuntur.* Cp. Plaut. Most. 619 *obsecro hercle, tu iube obicere argentum ob os impurae beluae.*

8. *linum* is the linen tape or thread passed through holes in the tablets after they have been closed. The seal was set over this tape. Cp. Paul. Sent. v. 25. 6 *amplissimus ordo decreuit, eas tabulas quae publici uel priuati contractus scriptorum continent, adhibitis testibus ita signari, ut in summa (et ima) marginis ad mediam partem perforatae triplici lino constringantur atque impostae supra linum cerae signa imprimantur.* So too Suet. Ner. 17.

13. *Mezentius.* Cp. c. 56.

cum Vlize errauit. Ulysses wandered ten years after the fall of Troy.

15. *cum quadruplatore.* A pun on the literal and technical sense of the word; cp. Asc. in Verr. ii. 2. 7. 21 *quadruplatores sunt accusatores criminum publicorum sub poena quadrupli sive quod ipsi ex damnatorum bonis quos accusauerant quartam partem consequebantur; Fest., 258 quadruplatores dicebantur qui eo quaestu se tuebantur ut eas res persequerentur quarum ex legibus quadrupli erat actio.*

20. *dimidio tanta.* See note on c. 3 *multo tanta.* Cp. Plaut. Men. 680 *ego tibi redimam bis tanta pluris pallam quam uoles.*

22. *quos circulare debueris digitos aperuisse, etc. (adperisse F: φ has aperisse).*

The accusers of Apuleius charge him with having persuaded an elderly woman of sixty to marry him, asserting that he has used magic to that end. After refuting the charges of magic, he indignantly denies that she is sixty. She is only forty. His accuser is twenty years out (cp. a few lines higher, *uiginti annos semel detraham, etc.*). In the present passage Apuleius points out that his accuser must have lied deliberately. The mistake could not have been due to a mistake in the gesture. The ancients used specific gestures to express numbers. Tens were counted on the left hand, and an account of the gestures has been preserved by Bede, 'de loquela per gestum digitorum et temporum ratione' (p. 132, ed. Colon. 1612): *quum dicis decem, unguem indicis in medio figes artu pollicis. quum dicis uiginti, summitatem pollicis inter medios indicis et impudici artus immittes. quum dicis triginta, ungues indicis et pollicis blandio coniunges amplexu . . . quum dicis quadraginta, interiora pollicis lateri uel dorso indicis superduces, ambobus dumtaxat erectis . . . quum dicis sexaginta, pollicem (ut supra) curuatum indice circumflexo diligenter a fronte praecinges.* (Cp. Purser, Hermath. xiv, No. 33, pp. 391 sqq.; Wüstemann, Jahn's Jahrb. Suppl. xv [1849], pp. 511-14, for explanation and diagrams.) These being the facts as to the gestures employed in counting, what does the passage in Apuleius mean? For the corrupt

adperisse Helm conjectures *adgessisse*, Purser *adpressisse*, which is a little nearer to the MSS. In either case the reference in *adgessisse* or *adpressisse* will be to the gesture for ten, and the meaning will be, 'If you meant thirty years instead of ten (which was what you actually did say), it might be supposed that you had made a mistake in the gesture of calculation, and that you had pressed your fingers together (= 10) instead of making them form a circle (= 30).' But under what circumstances had he actually said 'ten' and with what purpose? And surely the natural meaning of the opening words is 'If you had said thirty when you meant ten'? I would interpret the passage as follows: 'You have made a mistake of twenty years, and your mistake is inexcusable. The only mistake of twenty that would have been excusable would have been a confusion of ten and thirty, inasmuch as the gestures are very similar. But you did actually say sixty when you should have said forty, and the gestures for these two numbers are absolutely distinct' (see Bede).

If this interpretation is correct, the emendations of Purser and Helm cannot stand. To get the required sense we should have to transpose *circulasse* and *adgessisse*. The solution seems to me to lie in the adoption of the Vulgate *aperuisse*. The sense will then be, 'If you had said thirty when you meant ten, you might have done so merely through a mistake in the gesture; i. e. you ought to have made a circle with your fingers to signify ten, but instead you opened them wider.' The gesture for ten could obviously be described by *circularē digitos*, while the gesture for thirty might in relation to the gesture for ten be described by *aperire digitos*. It must also be remembered that in practice the gesture for thirty might often have been made without actually closing the points of finger and thumb, while it is even possible that the gestures were not precisely the same in Africa and in the time of Apuleius as they were in Britain and in the time of the Venerable Bede. The last clause of the sentence has no very logical connexion with what has preceded. It is a piece of chaff thrown in as a sort of afterthought. It is well paraphrased by Purser. 'Take care that it is not thirty she is. Perhaps to make up your sixty you have counted both consuls in each year.'

For the practice of using such signs in oratory cp. Quint. i. 10. 35 *numerorum quidem notitia non oratori modo, sed cuicunque saltem primis litteris erudito necessaria est. in causis uero frequentissime uersari solet, in quibus actor, non dico, si circa summas trepidat, sed si aigitorum saltem incerto aut indecoro gestu a computatione dissentit, iudicatur indoctus*. For discussion of the use of such signs see Juv. x. 249 *suos iam dextra computat annos*, Mayor's note, and Marquardt, *Privatleben*, p. 98 (H. E. B.).

22. *circularē*. Post-classical, and not found before Apuleius, who uses it again in Flor. 9 *ipse eius anuli et orbiculum circulauerat et palam clauserat*.

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 89, 90

24. *ea quadraginta*. For the repetition of the antecedent after a relative clause together with a redundant pronoun cp. 93 *ut filiis pecuniam suam reposcentibus, de qua supra dixeram, ut eam pecuniam sine mora redderet*. See also note on c. 2, l. 3 *eam solam delegit*.

CHAPTER 90

1. *ad ipsum stirpem*. *F* and ϕ differ as to the gender of *stirpem*. The word is usually feminine, but in Vergil is masculine when it refers to a tree, feminine when it refers to a race or breed. It is found masculine also in Ennius, Pacuvius, Cato, Columella, Pliny. *F* is probably right therefore in reading *ipsum*. See Neue, *Formenl.* i. 993; Quint. i. 6. 2.

4. *carminibus et uenenis*. Cp. note on c. 69.

5. *alicuius facinoris postulatos*. Cp. notes on c. 2 *plecteretur, postulasset*.

9. *male faciundum* is a necessary correction of *maleficiundum* (*F\phi*). The verb *maleficio* does not exist.

16. *omnium purgavi*. A Greek genitive on the analogy of καθαίρειν. Cp. Hor. Sat. ii. 3. 27 *morbi purgatum te illius*; Liv. xxxvii.

28. *I quibus purgantibus civitatem omnis facti dictique hostilis*. For Greek genitives in Apuleius, cp. note on c. 10 *abstinens nominum*.

si nusquam passus sum. 'I shall not be satisfied with clearing myself of all the charges you have brought against me nor with showing that there exists not the slightest ground for suspecting me of sorcery.' The passage is rather redundant, but the sense is clear: 'I shall not consider it enough simply to have refuted your actual charges of magic. I challenge you to prove any motive against me or to show that I have ever made any profit out of my marriage.' Helm adopts Acidalius' conjecture of *nisi* for the second *si*. This gives good sense: 'I shall not consider it enough to have refuted your charges, unless I show also that there exists not the slightest ground for suspecting me of sorcery.' He then goes on to say: 'There was not the slightest motive for me to practise magic.' But no change is absolutely necessary. Helm rejects the interpretation of the reading of the text given above: 'Quam interpretationem redarguunt uerba quae sequuntur; nam cum se magum uideri uelle dicat, si causa magiae ab aduersariis prolata est, se nondum omnem magiae suspicionem profligasse concedit; ergo non recte diceret *si nusquam, etc.*' (*Philol.*, p. 534). The argument is acute, but the logic of Apuleius is not always such as to justify such criticism. The passage is highly rhetorical, and the sense given by the reading of the MSS. quite good enough for the occasion. Mr. Ingram Bywater suggests that a full stop should

be placed after *purgavi* and a comma after *consistere*. The sense thus given is excellent, and, if any change be required, this correction is on the whole the most satisfactory.

22. **Carmendas.** The name is not elsewhere known, but would not be an unnatural name for a magician, *qui carmen dat*. Krüger suggests *Tarmoendas* mentioned by Pliny, xxx. 5, but outside that passage we know nothing of him, and all that we learn from Pliny is that he is an Assyrian, and is coupled with those *quorum nulla exstant monumenta*.

Damigeron. The author of a work on the properties of stones, which existed as early as the second century B.C. His name appears on lists of magicians in Arnob. i. 52 and Tert. de anim. 57. See Abt, p. 319; Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 2055; Hermes, ix. 471.

23. **uel his.** Krüger suggests *Belus*, miswritten *Velus*, the first syllable of which might have been omitted by haplography and so have caused the mistake. The name is found in company with Damigeron and Dardanus in Arnobius (loc. cit.). The words might again represent Jesus, who was regarded as a sorcerer by the Jews (Mt. xii. 24), and whose fame as a magician survived in the heathen world (Arn. i. 43; Cels. i. 28). The abbreviation of the sacred name, *IHS*, might have led to the error; in that case *uel* must have dropped out after it. Some such omission seems in every way more probable than that *his* stands for the pronoun *is*. There seems no reason for particularizing Moses with a pronoun, nor is there a real parallelism with *ipse Dardanus* in the addition of a pronoun to every third name; such an emphasis seems rather to separate the names of Moses and Iannes, which go closely together. Yet another suggestion is, with Van der Vliet, to supply the comparative with *his*, e.g. *maiores*. Wünsch thinks that *his* has arisen from a misunderstood abbreviation of *Hebraeus*. See Abt, p. 320.

Moses, who was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians (Acts vii. 22), was regarded in early times as a magician. A magical book bears the title 'The Sword of Moses'. Among classical writers Strabo (xvi. 2. 39) ranks him with the magicians of various nations. Pliny (xxx. 11) couples him with Iannes and derives a school (*fuctio*) from him. Juvenal (xiv. 102) speaks of his *arcanum uolumen*. His name was connected with that of Musaeus, the teacher of Orpheus (Eusebius, Praep. ev. ix. 27, p. 432 a). In the Koran he is spoken of as a wise magician. The papyri often mention him in this connexion. See Abt, p. 321. Later Judaism believed him to have had the Tetragrammaton carved on his wonder-working staff.

Iannes. Although the abbreviation in *F* stands for *Iohannes*, there can be no doubt that the more familiar name has been substituted for *Iannes*. Neither John the Baptist nor the Evangelist could have been regarded as a magician. Abt (p. 323) collects everything that might warrant the belief in their cases, but it

COMMENTARY: CHAPTER 90

amounts to very little. Iannes and Iambres, according to Jewish tradition, were the Egyptian magicians who withstood Moses; see 2 Tim. iii. 8. The name is not Egyptian, but Hebrew, and means 'the seducer'. The names are found in the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus (c. 5) and in the *Passio Petri et Pauli*. Among Christian writers Origen, Eusebius, and Ambrose mention Iannes, who is known also in the heathen world; Pliny (xxx. 11) couples his name with that of Moses. Origen says that St. Paul (2 Tim. iii. 8) is quoting from a sacred book, which he entitles 'the book of Iannes and Mambres'; no such book is known, but it may have existed and have accounted at least indirectly for the knowledge of the name by Pliny and Apuleius.

Apollobex of Coptos, mentioned by Pliny (xxx. 9) under the name of *Apollobeches*, together with Dardanus, among the predecessors of Democritus (*Democritus Apollobechen Coptiten et Dardanum et Phoenicen illustravit uoluminibus Dardani in sepulcrum eius petitis*). The much more familiar name of Apollonius, which Bosscha suggests, is less likely to have been corrupted. See Abt, p. 324; Pauly-Wissowa, i. 2847. Perhaps identical with the god Horus. See Wiedemann, *Rel. Aeg.*, p. 145.

ipse Dardanus. The addition of *ipse* indicates the importance of Dardanus. See the passage cited above from Pliny. Pap. Par. mentions a magic book entitled 'The Sword of Dardanus'. He is also mentioned by Columella x. 358; Tert. de anim. 57; Clem. Alex. Protr. ii. 13, p. 12, 7, ed. Stählin. See Abt, p. 324. Perhaps identical with the mythical founder of Troy, regarded by later writers as a magician and founder of Samothracian mysteries (Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 2. 2180).

24. **Zoroastres**, the founder of the Magian religion, naturally came to be regarded as a magician. Cp. Lucian, *Nekyom.* 6; Plut. *Isis and Osiris*, c. 46; Suidas, s. v. *μάγοι*; Pap. Lugd. II. 202, 29. For the burning of magic books attributed to Zoroaster cp. Sev. vit. Antiocheni, Codd. astr. ii, App., p. 79. See Abt, p. 324, 5.

Ostanen. Cp. c. 27. Other references to him are Plin. xxx. 8 *primus, quod exstat, ut equidem inuenio, commentatus est de ea Osthanes Xerxen regem Persarum bello quod is intulit comitatus*; Min. Fel. Oct. 26. 10 *eorum magorum et eloquio et negotio primus*; Tert. de Anim. 57, where he appears in company with Damigeron and Dardanus as here. Suidas, s. v. *Ὀστράνα*, speaks of a guild or society of Ostanæ. He is also mentioned in Pap. Par. 2006 and Lugd. I. iv, 16. See Abt, p. 325. See also Plin. xxviii. 5; Dieterich, Pap. Mag., p. 801, l. 16.

APVLEI APOLOGIA

CHAPTER 91

4. **in bibliothecis publicis.** Apuleius can hardly refer to magical treatises, which would assuredly not have been kept in the public libraries. Such works were publicly banned in the third century B.C.; see Liv. xxv. 1. 6. He must refer to learned works such as Pliny's Natural History, which contains much information on the subject.

10. **contemnam . . . respondere.** For the infinitive cp. Hor. Ep. i. 1. 29 *contemnas lippus inungi*; ib. 50 *coronari contemnat Olympia*; Sen. Phoen. 197 *mori*.

11. **nauci.** An old locative used like *floci* in negative sentences. It is found several times in Plautus and once in Cicero (Div. i. 58. 132). See Paul. Fest., p. 166.

20. **contra quam.** Post-Augustan. In classical Latin *contra atque* or *ac* was used. *quam* is used with *contra* by Seneca, the elder Pliny, and Gellius.

23. **neque eam datam, sed tantum modo commodatam.** The MSS. omit the participle after *tantummodo*; *promissam* is added by several of the later MSS. But *promissam* does not give the right sense. She was 'lent', not 'promised'. Purser's *commodatam* is the best correction. The assonance of *datam sed tantummodo commodatam* would be Apuleian, while confusion might have arisen between *tantummodo* and *commodatam* such as to lead to the corruption of the text. Either *creditam* (Helm) or *pactam* (Hildebrand) will also give the required sense.

24. **coniunctionem.** *F* reads *coniectionem*. Although *coniectio* is used as a legal term for the summary of a law case (cp. Gai. Inst. iv. 15; Dig. l. 17. 1), there seems no warrant for its use in the sense of the draft of the marriage contract, which would be the sense required here. It is therefore necessary to adopt Casaubon's simple correction *coniunctionem*, which involves but the slightest change. *coniunctio* is not a common word for 'marriage', but occurs in this sense in c. 67, in Cic. ad Fam. i. 7. 11, and also in Pliny. Cp. *coniugium*.

27. **diuidua pars** is here clearly used as a 'half'. Otherwise *pars* alone would suffice.

CHAPTER 92

1. **fors fuat an.** The equivalent in Plautus of *forsitan*; e.g. Pseud. 432; Ter. Hec. 610 *fors fuat pol!* In later Latin it is used by Symmachus (Ep. i. 39 (33)); Fronto (de Eloqu. p. 143 N). See Dräger, i. 306.

3. **repetitionem**, 'the power to reclaim'. Cp. *repetitionem habere* = *ius repetendi*, Dig. iii. 6. 3.

7. **a creditore acceptis.** Cp. end of c. 76.

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 91-93

15. *longa dote*. There seems no parallel for this use of *longa*, but it is easily intelligible, and it is hardly necessary to alter to *larga* or *lauta* with Stewech.

molli condicione. Cp. Gell. iv. 18. 3 *ut condicionibus gratiosis et mollibus pax cum eo populi Romani nomine fieret*.

16. *neque corpore . . . paenitendum*. Apuleius perhaps forgets that he had denied that he was a *formonsus philosophus* in c. 4.

19. *floris rudimentum*. Cp. Met. vi. 6 *ante thalami rudimentum nuptiale munus obtulerat*; vii. 14 *rudimenta Veneris*. See note on c. 28.

23. *renumerare*. A word only used outside this passage by the comic poets: e.g. Plaut. Bacch. 46 and 516; Ter. Hec. 502. In the last passage, as here, it is used of paying back a dowry.

28. *irreproscibile*. Only found here and in Sid. Ep. viii. 15.

31. *scaeui ominis mulier et infausti coniugii*. Cp. Cicero's language about Fulvia in Phil. ii. 5. 11 *cuius* (sc. *P. Clodi*) *quidem tibi fatum, sicut C. Curioni, manet, quoniam id domi tuae est, quod fuit illorum utrique fatale*.

37. *spernentem dotis*. For the objective genitive used with this participle as with a noun cp. c. 99 *spernens hereditatis*.

CHAPTER 93

4. *liberorum . . . liberius*. For the pun cp. Plaut. Mil. 682 PL. *cur non uis? nam procreare liberos lepidumst opus*. PE. *hercle uero liberum esse, id nimio multost lepidius*.

7. *fauisor*. This form (= *fautor*) appears also in Gellius xiv. 3. 9; Symm. laud. in patr. 3; Jul. Val. i. 7; ii. 29 and 35. *fauitor* is found in Plaut. Amph. 67, 78, 79; Lucil. ap. Non. 110. 23; Serv. ad Verg. Aen. vi. 816. It is the reading of some MSS. in Cicero, pro Planc. ad init. See Neue, Formenlehre, iii. 536.

9. *transuoraram* = *deuoraram*. The word does not appear before Apuleius, but is used by Arnobius and Caelius. Oudendorp compares the use of *transglutio* for *deglutio* (Veg. vet. iii. 78, etc.).

suasi . . . ac denique persuasi. The phrase recurs in Met. vii. 4 and ix. 25. Cp. also Met. iv. 11 *suadens persuadere posset*. See note on c. 15 *iurganti . . . obiurganti*.

11. *de qua supra dixeram* is Casaubon's correction of the MS. *de quo*, etc. Confusion between *a* and *o* is frequent in *F*. The fact that a neuter pronoun is sometimes used irrespective of gender where a sum of money is concerned can hardly justify *quo* following so close on *pecuniam*. Cp. c. 23 *relictum a patre HS XX paulo secus idque a me . . . modice imminutum*; 71 *mater sestertium quadragiens possidebat, ex quo sane aliquantam pecuniam . . . debe-*

bat; Plaut. Trin. 403 *minas quadraginta accepisti a Callicle . . . quid factum est eo?* See Leky, p. 13.

12. *in praedis*. For *praedis* for *praediis* cp. note on c. 38 *differentis*.

uili aestimatis et quanto ipsi uolebant. Pudentilla let her sons have the land, by surrender of which she paid her debts to her sons, at their own valuation, i.e. considerably below market prices. She therefore did more than pay her debts.

uili = abl. (sc. *pretio*). Cp. Plaut. Ep. 51 *quanti eam emit? uili*; Mart. xii. 66. 10 *uili uendere*. So with the comparative and superlative (Dig. xliii. 24. 11. 8 and xiii. 4. 2 ad fin.).

praeterea. Sc. over and above the payment of her debts she made them the most handsome presents, as an indication of the manner in which they might expect to be treated in her will (*ut ad cetera hereditatis bona spe inuitaret*).

20. *extudi* = 'extort'. Cp. Plaut. Most. 221 *priu' quam id extudi, quom illi subblandiebar*; Suet. Vesp. 2; Val. Max. i. 4. 4 and v. 2. 10.

CHAPTER 94

4. *pedes nostros aduolutus*. Cp. Met. vi. 2 *pedes eius aduoluta*. This construction is first found in Sallust, fr. incert. ap. Serv. ad Verg. Aen. i. 307 *genua patrum aduoluuntur*. Tacitus adopts it from him, though he also has the dative (*pedibus*) twice (Tac. Ann. i. 23 and 32).

5. *manus osculabundus*. Cp. note on c. 72 *periclitabundus*.

8. *tirocinio orationis suae*. *oratio* here = *eloquentia*. Cp. Cic. de Or. ii. 44. 187 *regina rerum oratio*; Brut. 45. 165 *satis in eo fuisse orationis atque ingenii*. Pontianus was presumably going to practise as a rhetorician. Apuleius, whose reputation was already made, secured him the patronage of the proconsul.

17. *uir bonus dicendi peritus*. A quotation from Cato. Cp. Sen. Contr. 1, praef. 9 *erratis, optimi iuuenes, nisi illam uocem non M. Catonis, sed oraculi creditis . . . ille ergo uir quid ait? 'orator est, Marce fili, uir bonus dicendi peritus.'*

19. *et quidem, si praelegam*, 'if only I may read'. *si* is here used with the subjunctive to express a conditional wish = *modo*. Cp. *intrare si possim castra hostium uolo*, Liv. ii. 12. 5. There is no need to alter the text. Van der Vliet reads *equidem*, and refers the clause to what precedes: 'I know that Maximus will gladly hear Avitus' letter, if I read it'. This is scarcely complimentary to Avitus, as it implies that it can only come suitably from the lips of Apuleius. A better, though needless correction, is that of Rohde who reads *et quidem ipse legam, mea uoce pronuntiabo*. Apuleius proposes to read the letter himself out of compliment to Avitus instead of leaving it with the rest of the written evidence to be read

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 93-95

by the clerk of the court. Cp. note on c. 80 *ipsas litteras . . . recitabo*. Here *praelegam* means 'I may have permission to have it read'; cp. *recitabo*, c. 80. See Helm, Philol., loc. cit., pp. 585-6.

praelegam. *praelegere* has usually the special meaning of *legere docendi causa*, to read as a teacher to show how a passage should be read. The word is perhaps chosen here because Apuleius proposes to read the passage as a lecturer might read it, to show off its beauty, rather than to adduce it as a piece of evidence. *perlegam*, the reading of a later MS., would be a simple correction, but it is not necessary.

21. *aquam sinas fluere*. See c. 28 *largiter aquae superest*, note; also c. 37 *aquam sustine*. In the present passage he pays a compliment to Avitus. Avitus' letter must be regarded rather as an ornament to the defence than a piece of formal evidence.

CHAPTER 95

10. *undique sui*. Cp. c. 88 *nusquam sui*.

11. *ut in illa neque Cato grauitatem, etc.* At this point in cod. Vat. (Lat.) 2193 the following words occur in the margin: *nec auctoritatem Crassus nec efficaciam Antonius nec simplicitatem Menenius nec acrimoniam Appius nec leporem ac facetiam Augustus*. These words are also given in the margin of the Florida by Ottob. Vat. 2091, and among fragments of the Apologia in Cod. Nap. IV. G. 55. See Introd., pp. xxxviii, xl, and xli. The MSS. containing this passage are elsewhere valueless for the Apologia, and there is no reason to regard this passage as genuine. The one point in its favour is that the only other passage where Menenius and Appius are coupled is in Tac. Dial. 21, which cannot have been known to the scribe of Vat. 2193 (end of fourteenth century), since the MS. containing the Dialogus was only discovered in 1455. But against this may be urged that the insertion of these words would make the sentence long and cumbrous even for Apuleius, that it would, wherever inserted, destroy the approximately chronological order of the orators as given by *F*, and finally that it would not have been beyond the powers of a contemporary of Petrarch to write the words in question. Suetonius, Quintilian, Livy, and Cicero would have provided the requisite information. Further, the words are only written in the margin without any indication as to where in the sentence they were meant to be inserted. They are probably the work of a fourteenth-century scholar who wished to display his knowledge, and perhaps to perpetrate a little joke at the expense of Apuleius. Cod. Vat. 2193 (from which the other two MSS. have copied the passage) has marginal notes by Petrarch. These words, however, are in the hand of the scribe. But they may well have proceeded from the hand of one of Petrarch's circle. See Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, p. 294.

APVLEI APOLOGIA

Cato, the earliest of the great orators of Rome. Cp. Cic. Brut. 65 sqq. *quis illo grauior in laudando? acerbior in uituperando? in sententiis argutior? in docendo edisserendoque subtilior? . . . omnes oratoriae uirtutes in eo reperiuntur.* (Cp. note on c. 17.)

12. **Laelius**. See note on c. 20. Cicero selects *lenitas* as the chief characteristic of his style (de Or. iii. 7. 28).

Gracchus (C. *Sempronius*) was famous for the fire of his oratory. Cp. Cic. Brut. 125 *noli enim putare quemquam pleniorē aut uberiorē ad dicendum fuisse*; de Or. iii. 56. 214 (where a fine passage is quoted); 60. 225; Tac. Dial. 26; Gell. x. 10. 3; Plut. Tib. Gr. 2.

13. **Caesar** is praised as a rule for *elegantia* rather than for warmth. Cp. Cic. Brut. 252, 261; Quint. x. 1. 114.

Hortensius. Cicero's chief rival, a master of the Asiatic style.

Calvus. Cp. Cic. Brut. 283 *accuratius quoddam dicendi et exquisitius afferebat genus.*

14. **Salustius**, the historian, famous, then as now, for his terseness. Cp. Quint. x. 1. 32 *illa Sallustiana breuitas.*

CHAPTER 96

2. **ad pestes istas**. Cp. Met. v. 12 *pestes illae* (i.e. the two sisters of Psyche).

5. **dispositionem** is Fulvius' emendation of *disputationem* (Fφ). Helm reads *dispunctionem*, which is very close to the MSS. (*disputiōnem* became *disputationem*, and *disputationem* *disputationem*). He interprets *dispunctionem* as *rationem redditam*. But the sense thus given, if it be sense, is at least obscure. *dispunctionem* means either the balancing of accounts, or metaphorically, investigation. Neither sense is suitable here.

6. **magiae et maleficii criminis**. *et* is the addition of Bosscha. Helm keeps the MS. reading without *et* and says 'exstat gradatio ad minora', citing c. 25 *scelera immania et inconcessa maleficia et artis nefandas*. There is, however, no parallel. (Helm (pref. to Florida, p. xxvii) cites Cic. pro Rosc. Amer. 42. 122 *quicquid maleficii, sceleris, caedis*. But this is hardly a *gradatio ad minora*.) The reading of the MSS. can only mean the 'charge of the *maleficium* of magic', or 'magic, evil practices, and misdoing'. But in the first case the accumulation of genitives is very harsh, while in the latter the vague *criminis* is very weak. The addition of *et* removes all difficulty. The sense will then be 'the crime of magic and the black art', *maleficium* and *magia* being identical. Cp. note on c. 1 *maleficioꝝ*.

7. **concipilare** = 'seize'. Cp. Plaut. Truc. 621 *quem ego offatim iam iam concipilabo*. Paul. Fest., p. 62. 6 *concipilauisti dictum a Naeuio pro corripuisti et inuolasti*. The Thesaurus quotes the

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 95-97

word from Claud. Mam. Anim. ii. 11, p. 142. 6; Lex Sal. vii. add. 11; xxvii. 16; and two quotations from Gloss. IV, where it is explained as *minutatim concidere*. Parts of this verb have been suggested by editors for *compilabat* in Met. vii. 18 and *compilassent* in Met. ix. 2.

11. **acta apud Auitum.** *acta* must mean a 'report of what happened in Auitus' presence'. For this use of *acta* cp. the well-known phrases *acta senatus*, *acta urbis diurna* (Tac. Ann. xiii. 31), etc.

12. **quid posses uel quas quis in isto negotio accusare?** *quas quis* appears corrupt, and no really satisfactory emendation has been or seems likely to be proposed. *uel tu uel quisquis* (Van der Vliet) gives the best sense and the smoothest Latin, and may perhaps be right. Apart from this the only possible solution would seem to be *quas* (sc. *litteras*) or *quos quis* (= *potes*). The change of tense accompanying a change from *possum* to *queo* seems harsh, but can be paralleled from Arnob. i. 33 *ipsaque denique hiscere si animantia muta potuissent . . . immo si arbores glebae saxa . . . uocis sonitum quirent . . . integrare*. But if the rare *quis* be regarded as objectionable, *uis* might be substituted. Helm suggests *quas res quis*. But the combination of two interrogatives coupled with the ellipse of *posset* is harsh.

22. **recitari sinas.** Cp. note on c. 80 *ipsas litteras . . . recitabo*.

23. **quam in omnibus minor Mineruae curriculum cum fratre . . . currat.** 'How utterly inferior he is in the pursuit of his literary studies compared with his brother.' This is the reading of the MSS., with the addition of *minor*, the simplest of corrections. Pudens' ignorance is referred to again in the latter part of c. 98. This reading makes Apuleius point out what an excellent letter Pontianus wrote, a letter which Pudens could not have written even if he had had the grace to do so. The alternative is with Lennep to read *minor uitae*. Purser urges in defence of this reading that 'it was not merely in learning, but in every respect, that Pontianus was superior to Pudens'. See Hermath., p. 393. This is true, but a taunt against Pudens' lack of education is in no way out of place, while *minor Mineruae* is at least as near the MSS., and has the advantage of greater picturesqueness.

CHAPTER 97

2. **magistrum.** Apuleius had not only assisted Pontianus' studies recently at Oea, but also at Athens. Cp. c. 72 *Athenis*, and Introd., p. x. The whole tone of Pontianus' words points to his being very considerably the junior of Apuleius. See too note on c. 73 *in communibus studiis adiuvantur*.

4. **post quam** (Ellis). Sc. *epistulam* to be supplied from the *epistulas* which follows. This is the only satisfactory correction of *postquam* (Fφ). *post quae* (Beyte) is unsatisfactory, as it would mean *post quae uocabula*, whereas, as Helm points out, *post quas litteras* or *epistulas* is the sense required. Helm himself retains *postquam*, and marks a lacuna from which words such as *mecum rediit in gratiam* may have been lost (see Philol., p. 537).

epistulas. A post-classical use of plural for singular on the analogy of *litterae*, found in Pliny the younger, Tacitus, and Justin; e.g. Tac. Ann. i. 30.

5. **testamentum illud recens**. This unfinished will must have been even more disappointing to Rufinus than the actual will of earlier date, in accordance with which Pontianus' property was disposed of. In the later will which Rufinus had not allowed to be completed, he had, according to Apuleius, expressed his contrition for his conduct towards his step-father in the fullest and most honourable manner. In what other respects the later will was displeasing to Rufinus, Apuleius does not state. The actual will cut off Rufinus' daughter with a paltry legacy of linen, while both wills made Pudentilla and Pudens the chief inheritors of the property. It seems probable that the later will must have been even less complimentary to Rufinus and his daughter. But according to Apuleius the actual will was a severe disappointment to Rufinus. At any rate, from the statement in this chapter his family does not seem to have benefited by it. On the other hand the actual will had been brought forward by Apuleius' accusers as evidence in the case (cp. below *tam hoc* (the unfinished will) *quam priore* (the actual will) *quod lectum est*). It is probable therefore that it was less uncomplimentary to Rufinus and his daughter than Apuleius would lead us to suppose from this passage. It is also probable that in the actual will Pontianus had used slighting language about Apuleius. Otherwise it is hard to see how it can have been brought up as evidence by the accusers.

9. **paucorum mensium**. These words must be regarded as dependent on *hereditatem*; i.e. which, the inheritance of those few months, he had regarded as rich payment for his daughter's embraces. Helm needlessly inserts *praemium* after *quam*. It cannot be regarded as a genitive of 'time within which' on the analogy of the Greek. Such a Graecism is unparalleled in Latin. Cp. Helm, loc. cit., p. 538.

12. **collocaret**, 'invest'.

14. **in paucis mensibus**. Cp. note on c. 57.

17. **male compertam**, 'after he had discovered what an evil woman she was'. If this, the reading of Fφ, is right, we must suppose that the phrase is framed on the analogy of the well-known idiom *male audire* = to have an ill name. But there is no nearer parallel. *male comparatam*, the reading of Van der Vliet, is

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 97, 98

possible. It would mean 'since she was a bad bargain'. Casaubon conjectured *mali compertam*, which is preferable = 'convicted of evil.'

19. *lintea*. The *ignominia* consisted in the worthlessness of the legacy. Casaubon quotes Isidor. Orig. xix. 25 *amiculum est meretricum pallium linteum*; *his apud ueteres matronae in adulterio deprehensae induebantur*. But the allusion is over-fanciful.

26. *obsternit*. ἀπ. λεγ. For the combination of verbs compounded with *ob* cp. c. 50 *obruit et obturbat*.

CHAPTER 98

2. *illectamentis*. Found also in c. 102 and Claud. Mam. See note on c. 1 *objectamenta*.

5. *ehem*. An exclamation of joyful surprise in Plautus and Terence, e.g. Plaut. Asin. 449. But, as used by Apuleius, the only other author instanced by L. and S. as using it, it signifies rather the recollection of something forgotten: 'Oh yes, and . . .' Cp. Met. ii. 22 *ehem et quod paene praeterieram*. We may regard this acknowledgement of a suggestion as (1) a record of what actually happened in the trial, or (2) an insertion in the speech as published employed for dramatic effect. Cp. Cic. Verr. ii. 4. 3. 5 *sed earum artificem quam? quemnam? recte admones. Polyclitum esse dicebant*. If it is a record of actual fact, it is possible that the suggestion was a piece of stage management on the part of Apuleius. Cp. c. 36 *quos forte . . . habuere*, and c. 55 *dicite aliquis*, notes.

7. *intestati pueri*. His property would under these circumstances go to Aemilianus as the nearest surviving agnate in accordance with XII Tab. v. 4. 5. It is not certain whether the *Senatusconsultum Tertullianum*, which gave the mother *trium liberorum* a prior claim on the property of an intestate son, was yet in existence. Some authorities place it in the reign of Hadrian, others A.D. 158. In any case there is no difficulty here, as Pudentilla had apparently but two children. (See Girard, Man. de droit rom., p. 845, ed. 4.) This passage shows that Aemilianus was older than his brother Sicinius Clarus.

8. *nollem . . . profectum*. Cp. Ter. Adelph. 775 *sane nollem huc exitum* (sc. a me). For the similar use of *uolo* see note on c. 61 *qui mihi factum uolebat*.

10. *abrumpere* = 'to blurt out', a unique but quite natural use of the verb in this sense. Cp. the use of *rumpere* in Vergil.

11. *si per uerum uelis* is Purser's correction of *si puerum uelis* (Fφ). For the tmesis cp. Cic. Att. xv. 4. 2 *ibi te quam primum per uidere uellem*. Tr. 'If you insist on having the truth.' Casaubon emended to *si uerum uelis*, which fails to account for the *p* of

puerum: (*per* = *p*). Hildebrand conjectured *peruerum*. But the form is not found, and would in any case be pointless here.

12. *circa puerum istum*. For this use of *circa*, which is fairly frequent in post-Augustan prose, especially in Quintilian, see c. 72 *circa honorem meum*, etc.; c. 99 ad fin. *liberalitatem circa me*.

18. *inuestem*, 'boy', as opposed to *uesticeps*, a 'man'. Cp. Met. v. 28 *quae puerum ingenuum et inuestem sollicitauit*. 'The commentators take *uestis* in these words to mean the "beard", a sense in which it is found in one poetical passage in Lucr. v. 673 *nec minus in certo dentes cadere imperat aetas / tempore et impubem molli pubescere ueste*; and Servius professes to find this meaning in Verg. Aen. viii. 659 (*aurea caesaries illis atque aurea uestis*) "*hoc est barba unde contra inuestes dicimus imberbes, unde est* (160) *tunc mihi prima genas uestibat flore iuuentas*" (cp. his note on vi. 645); this view was also held by Nonius (p. 45. 23) (*nulla pars corporis pilat*) and the glosses. We must apparently acquiesce in this interpretation, though naturally we should think of the *toga uirilis* and the dress of grown-up years: cp. Macrobi. S. iii. 8. 7 *Romani pueros et puellas nobiles et inuestes camillos et camillas appellant*, where the original meaning of "beardless" would seem to have disappeared.' L. C. Purser, Cupid and Psyche, p. 70. If this view be accepted, the sense will be, 'You gave him the *toga uirilis* before he had attained to puberty.' But the contrast of *inuestis* with *uesticeps* in this passage strongly suggests that *inuestis* means 'without the *toga uirilis*', though the sense given by the other interpretation is excellent. Tertullian (de Anim. 56) uses the words together: *inuestis* is frequent in his writings.

20. *fugela*. Found only here and in Cato ap. Pris., p. 601 *maxima fugela*.

21. *postremisumis*. This superlative of a superlative is found in C. Gracch. ap. Gell. xv. 12. 3; Tertull. de cultu fem. ii. 1. Apuleius has also the comparative forms: D. Socr. 3 *postremior*; Met. i. 8 *extremius*. Other forms quoted are *nouissimior*, *extremissimus* (Tertull.), *proximior* (Minuc. Ulp. Veget.), *minimissimus* (Arnob. cp. ἐλαχιστότατος), *infimiores* (Interp. Iren.). See Dräger, i. 43.

22. *puer hoc aevi*. Cp. Met. v. 29 *hoc aetatis puer*, and note on c. 3 *id genus*.

23. *magister conuiuio*. See note on c. 1 *latibulum temeritatis*.

24. *uisitur* is Krüger's correction for the MSS. *uisitor*, which would have to be taken as a unique instance of *uisitor* = *uisitator*. In addition to being unique such a form is, as Helm points out, irregularly formed, being neither derived from the supine stem (like *rector*, *actor*, etc.) nor from a substantive (like *funditor*). He therefore corrects to *uisitator*, a late Latin word appearing in Augustine and the Vulgate.

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 98, 99

26. **loquitur nunquam nisi Punice.** Punic survived the fall of Carthage, and was widely spoken both on the coast and in the interior of Africa. It was the mother-tongue of Augustine and of the emperor Septimius Severus. Cp. August. Confess. i. 14. 23; Ep. lxvi. 2, cviii. 14, ccix. 3; Spartian. Sept. Sever. 15. (Thieling, *Hellenismus in Kleinafrika*, p. 24.)

27. **adhuc a matre graecissat.** Greek was clearly freely spoken in Pudentilla's household. Her letters to Pontianus are written in Greek. See cc. 82, 83. Apuleius implies that Pudens is fast forgetting his Greek since he left school and his mother's house to associate with Aemilianus and Rufinus. Cp. c. 87, where Apuleius accuses Rufinus (see note, ad loc.) of forging a letter purporting to have been sent to Pudentilla by Apuleius. A sign of its spuriousness is the fact that it is written *tam barbaro sermone*. See also note on *tam Graece quam Latine*, c. 4.

graecissat. Cp. Plaut. Men. 11 *atque adeo hoc argumentum graecissat; tamen / non atticissat, uerum sicilicissitat*. Apuleius uses the verb *atticisso* in Flor. 18 and D. Socr. prol. 5.

enim Latine loqui neque uult neque potest. This is a remarkable statement, and is not meant to be taken absolutely literally. As the words which follow show, Pudens had given his evidence in Latin, though very imperfect Latin.

CHAPTER 99

2. **adsistitis** refers to friends who appear in court to lend Apuleius their moral support. Cp. Cic. pro Planc. 11 ad fin. *huius periculo commoti huic adsident, pro hoc laborant*. For *adsisto* with an accusative cp. Met. ii. 15 *grabattulum meum adsistit*; ix. 20 *maritus adsistit suae domus ianuam*. In Apuleius words compounded with *ad* are often used with the accusative alone, where in classical Latin the accusative with *ad* or the dative would have been used. Met. vi. 21 *Psyche accurrit* (see Purser, p. xcvi); viii. 22, etc.

3. **candidato illo socero.** 'That candidate for the privilege of becoming his father-in-law.'

4. **illo.** For this dative cp. Met. vi. 17 *laborique isto*; vii. 26 *perissimo isto asino*; x. 10 *ne ipso quidem succumbit igni*; v. 31 *isto meo pectori*; viii. 10 *uno potiundi studio postponens omnia*; xi. 17 *senatuique et equiti totoque Romano populo*.

7. **paenissime.** Found in Plautus (Most. 656; Aul. 466, 668), and used by Apuleius in two other places, Flor. 16 and Met. viii. 6. It is also suggested by Lipsius as an emendation for *plenissime* in Met. viii. 23.

11. **elogium**, 'a clause in the will'; cp. Cic. Cluent. 135.

13. **diuersurum.** The verb is not classical in the sense of

APVLEI APOLOGIA

'being divorced'. Cicero says *diuortium facere*. Cp. Met. v. 26 *toro meo diuorte tibi que res tuas habeto*.

17. *rem ei* is Bosscha's certain correction of *sem&e* (*Fφ*). For the confusion of *s* and *r* (very easy in the Lombard script) cp. c. 39, where *F* gives *iusulentus* for *iurulentus*. *semitam* is no closer to the MSS. and gives very poor sense.

19. *enim*. See note on c. 18.

longe sequius ratus fuerat. Cp. Met. ix. 29 *cum ei sequius ac rata fuerat proueniret*. Cp. also note on c. 68 *nupta fuerat*.

22. *aeque ut ego*. The use of *ut* with *aeque* is very doubtful in classical Latin, its appearance being usually due to a misreading. L. and S. quote examples from both Plinys and the Vulgate. See Met. v. 6, where the MSS. read *atque ut* and Gruter emends to *aeque ut*. In Hor. Od. i. 16. 9 the *ut* goes rather with *sic* than with *aeque*. The ordinary classical use is *aeque ac* varied by post-Augustan authors with *aeque quam*. See Weymann, p. 379. Cp. also c. 14 *aeque ut in speculis*.

CHAPTER 100

3. *rumpi*. Sc. to be unsealed. Cp. c. 89 *linum*, note.

5. *si quid ei humanitus attigisset*. Cp. Enn. (Baehr. 83) *si quid me obtigerit humanitus*; Cic. Phil. i. 4. 10 *si quid mihi humanitus accidisset*. The word *humanitus*, though rare outside the comedians, is classical. This is the only example in literature of *attingo* with the dative: presumably it is due to analogy with *accido*. For the close similarity of meaning between *attingo* and *accido* in earlier Latin cp. Arch. f. Lat. Lex. xiii. 211.

17. *domo*. Cp. c. 93 *grandem domum*.

18. *coheredem*. Cp. c. 97 ad fin.

21. *contumelias . . . fecit*. Cicero objects to Antony's use of this expression (in Phil. iii. 9. 22) *quid est porro facere contumeliam? quis sic loquitur?* But it is found in Plaut. Asin. 489; Ter. Phorm. 972; Eun. 866. With the post-Augustan writers it came into use again, being employed by Seneca. 'Quintilian remarks the change of usage, whereby *facere contumeliam* had become classical in his day (ix. 3. 13) *ut nunc eualuit . . . "contumeliam fecit", quod a Cicerone reprehendi notum est: affici enim contumelia dicebant*.' King, Cic. Phil., loc. cit.

25. *efflictim*. An ante-classical word, not infrequent in Plautus. In Met. v. 28 Apuleius uses the post-classical *efflicte*.

CHAPTER 101

6. *ut sui potens et uir acerbissimas litteras matri dictet*. 'Let him since he is a man with control of his own affairs write offensive letters to his mother.' For this use of *dictare* cp. Hor.

Ep. i. 10. 49 *haec tibi dictabam*. There is no mention of such a letter written by Pudens to his mother. The letter which suggests this taunt is, however, probably that mentioned in c. 86 *tuam ipsius epistulam . . . quam . . . nimis contumeliose et turpiter de matre tua scriptam, cum adhuc in eius sinu alerere, miseris clanculo ad Pontianum*. Van der Vliet interprets the passage as meaning 'faciat quod ego feci et ipse testamenti uerba matri dictet'. The sense thus given would be excellent, if there were any warrant for putting such an interpretation on the word *litteras*. (There is no reason to suppose the passage to be in any way corrupt. Helm's *ut qui* in no way improves the sense.)

7. *qui potuit perorare, poterit exorare*. See note on c. 9 *pro implexis . . . complexum*. *perorare*, sc. *causam*.

16. *tributum*, i.e. the *tributum soli* paid on all land in the provinces except in the cases of communities, such as *ciuitates liberae et immunes* or *coloniae* with the *ius Italicum*, which had special immunity.

17. *quaestor publicus*. The collection of the land-tax was carried out through towns or urban districts. Corvinus Celer is quaestor of Oea, and is the official in charge of the collection of the *tributum*. Cp. Marquardt, *Staatsverw.*, ii. 185; Mommsen, *Staatsr.*, iii. 750, n. 3; Hirschfeld, *Kaiserl. Verwalt.*, p. 74, n. 6.

18. *Coruinius Celer*. Cp. C. I. L. viii. 5501. The later reading *Coruinus Celer* is wrong, as is *Coruini Clementis* below.

tutor auctor mulieris. *Pudentilla*, not being *in manu mariti*, needed a *tutor* to give her the requisite *auctoritas* to proceed to the purchase of the property. It was not perhaps, everywhere at any rate, necessary for her to have a permanent *tutor*. Cp. Girard, *Man. de droit rom.*, p. 220 (ed. 4): 'Peut-être même est-on arrivé, par une conséquence logique, à admettre, au moins dans certaines régions, que la nomination du tuteur datif devait être provoquée seulement quand la femme avait à procéder à l'un des actes qui requièrent son concours et seulement pour la durée de cet acte. Cette idée émise pour l'Égypte par M. Gradenwitz, *Einführung in die Papyruskunde*, 1900, p. 153, est aujourd'hui très fortement appuyée pour elle par Pap. Lond. i. 470 de l'an 168 relatif à la fin d'une pareille tutelle après l'accomplissement de l'acte et par P. Oxy. iv. 720, qui contient la demande faite en 247 par une femme au préfet d'Égypte d'un pareil *auctor* en vertu des lois Julia et Titia et la réponse conforme du préfet.' This may have been the case in Africa also, for in c. 1 we find *Apuleius* appearing for his wife in the law-courts. *tutor auctor*, a legal formula for *tutor et auctor*, is common.

22. *praestinarit*. A Plautine word (Capt. 848; Pseud. 169), explained by Paul. as *praeemere*. It occurs several times in the *Metamorphoses*, e.g. i. 5 and 24; iv. 15 (MSS. *praedestinatae*); vii. 9; viii. 23; ix. 6, 8, and 10; x. 13 (MSS. *praedestinarant*).

APVLEI APOLOGIA

23. *testimonium*, etc. These words are clearly an interpolated gloss. Not only is there no specific indication of the reading of written evidence in previous passages, where such evidence was read, but the documents in question could hardly be styled *testimonium Cassi*, etc. The evidence would be written evidence in the form of receipt for the *tributum* and the *auctoritas* given by Cassius, together with the deed of purchase. *qR* is best interpreted *quaestoris*, with Salmasius.

CHAPTER 102

4. *dotem mihi . . . diceret*. Cp. Afranius, *Fratr.* (Ribbeck, 159) *dat rustico nescio cui, uicino suo, / perpauperi, cui dicat dotis paullulum*.

8. *adhortatu*. Found only here and in Vell. Pat. ii. 89. 4.

condonasset. For the pluperfect see note on c. 61 *elaborasset . . . supplicassem*.

9. *nihil quicquam*. *nihil* is inserted by Pricaeus. A negative is absolutely required, and *nihil* might easily have fallen out after *mihi*. Helm's suggestion that *quicquam* might mean the same as *tenue nescio quid* in c. 100 ad init. is inadmissible. There are no parallels that really justify such a use of *quicquam*, and there is the further serious objection that it would make the sentence end very weakly with an anticlimax. The inconsistency involved by *nihil quicquam* as contradicting *tenue nescio quid honoris gratia legatum* is of the most trifling kind. Cp. note on c. 7 *nemo quisquam*.

10. *ueneficium . . . an . . . beneficium?* Cp. Laber. ap. Front. ad M. i. 7 *ad amorem iniciendum delenimenta esse deliberamenta, beneficia autem ueneficia*. In connexion with this pun on *ueneficium* and *beneficium* it is worth while noting the increasing tendency in Latin to confuse the sounds of *b* and *v* (cp. the similar confusion in Spanish to-day). *b* and *v* begin to be interchanged in inscriptions from the commencement of the second century onwards. Cp. Lindsay, *The Latin Language*, pp. 49, 50. It has even been suggested (Thielmann, *Archiv f. Lat. Lexicogr.* i, 1884, p. 77) that *maleficium* superseded *ueneficium* as a legal term (see note on *maleficiorum*, c. 1) on account of the tendency to confuse it in pronunciation with *beneficium*.

Lindsay (p. 51) in calling attention to the frequent confusion between these two words quotes Probi App. 200. 9. K. *inter beneficium et ueneficium hoc interest, quod beneficium bene facientem significat ueneficium autem ueneni datorem esse demonstrat*. Cp. note on c. 15 *neque pingi neque fingi*. For *dicam an* cp. c. 17 *caecitatem dicam an consuetudinem?*

15. *iustitiae pertinacem*. For this rare use of *pertinax* with the genitive cp. Val. Max. vi. 3. 3 *irae pertinax*.

COMMENTARY: CHAPTERS 101-3

19. *saltem*. A late spelling, like *decim* for *decem*. Cp. C. Gloss. L. v. 146. 13; Lindsay, p. 556. *saltem* in other places in the speech. For the phrase cp. Cic. p. Rosc. Amer. 19. 54 *finge aliquid saltem commode*.

eminiscimini quod respondeatis, qui uos ita rogarit. Van der Vliet would read *si qui*, but the omission of the antecedent can be paralleled from c. 16 *hoc mihi usu uenit quod qui forte constitit*.

25. *tabulae dotis*. See c. 91 ad fin.

tabulae donationis. See c. 93 *fructuosissimos agros, etc.*

26. *tabulae testamenti*. See cc. 99, 100.

29. *libelli*. Cp. c. 2, note on *dat libellum*.

CHAPTER 103

6. *splendidas*. The word does not occur elsewhere, but is certainly the right reading. As from *candeo* we have the intransitive *candico* (Flor. 3) and the transitive *candido* (Aug. Ep. xxxiv. 2 *albis uestibus candidari*), so from *splendeo* we have the intransitive *splendico* (Met. v. 9 *quae splendent gemmae*; Met. vii. 8 *genae leui pueritia splendent*); and here the transitive *splendo*. Cp. also *madido*, 'to make wet'.

10. *prior natu'st . . . lucrum sectatus es*. There is no doubt that the charges have to be answered in two words: but down to these two the charges have been stated with like brevity. Here, however, *F* gives *prior natu is est* (*ista est* Hildebrand) and *lucrum sectatus es*. It would suit the symmetry of the passage if these two charges were also stated in two words. It is simplest, therefore, with Novák to delete *is*. We are then left with *prior natu est*, which may have been written *prior natu'st*. *prior nata'st* is also possible. The difficulty is less with *sectatus es*. However Apuleius may have written the word, it is quite possible that he pronounced it *sectatus*. Cp. *amatus* = *amatus es* ('a case of prodelision, like our "it's" for "it is"'), Lindsay, p. 123. It is possible, however, that the word was actually written *sectatus*; cp. *pollicitus es*, c. 46, note.

11. *totalis accipe*. Van der Vliet inserts *tabulas*, comparing in the last chapter *negant tabulae dotis*. But it is more likely that Apuleius would continue to reply *binis uerbis*, as he says above, and *tabulas* would be easily understood. For the omission of the substantive cp. c. 21 *paucioris* (sc. *seruos*) *habeo*.

15. *philosophiae* is meaningless in this context. We have followed Bosscha in regarding it as an interpolation.

16. *ubique si cum septem pennis . . . tenui*. For the phrase *cum septem pennis* cp. Lucil. (122, ed. Marx) *ille alter abundans / cum septem incolumis pinnis redit et recipit se*. The allusion is to

the gladiator styled *pinnirapus*, whose aim was to snatch the plume from his adversary's helmet. The adversary was generally a 'Samnite'. Cp. Juv. iii. 158; Varro, L. L. v. 142 *insigniti milites habere in galeis solent* (*pinnae*), *et in gladiatoribus Samnites. cum septem pennis* implies seven victories. *ubique si*. The position of *si* is unusual, but hardly justifies us in altering the text. Purser's suggestion, that instead of *si* we should read *quasi*, is not impossible.

18. *reuereri . . . uereri*. Cp. Flor. 9 *neminem proconsulum . . . prouincia Africa magis reuerita est, minus uerita*. See note on c. 15 *iurganti . . . obiurganti*. For the use of *quam* without *potius* see note on c. 28 *officii gratia quam lucri causa*. It is unnecessary to read *securius* instead of *securus*.

ADDENDA

5. 11. **praefero.** Dr. Purser suggests that *me* and *-fero* should be transposed here, so as to restore the classical usage of *prae me fero*. This is found joined with *profiteor* in Cic. N. D. i. 12. In that case *me* would be supplied with *concessurum* as in c. 2 *pollicitus ita facturum*, where see note.

17. 22. **longe** is occasionally used in post-Augustan Latin with the positive of adjectives, cp. Met. i. 21 *longe opulentus*; Stat. Theb. x. 140 *longe grauis*. See n. on c. 48 *multo arduum*.

18. 3. **uernacula.** Dr. Purser prefers the former interpretation (1) on account of Apuleius' love of diminutives, (2) because *frugi*, *sobria*, &c., are the regular epithets of good servants.

18. 13. **aput.** Although *apud* occurs immediately below, the variation of spelling has been retained as probably due to Apuleius himself: cp. Casaubon's emendation *haut* (for the more usual *haud*). In the same way we have retained *set* where it has been read in the MSS., even when it is close to *sed* (e.g. cc. 8 and 9).

28. 24. **eruptum.** The reading of F is *eruptum*, which may perhaps be correct. There is considerable evidence to show that the *a* of *rapio* was changed to *u* in compounds, as in *concutio*, *inculco*, *insulto*, &c. See Wagner on Plaut. Aul. 39; Munro on Cat. lxviii. l. 84; and Lucr. iii. 1031. Fronto also has *surrupuerit* (p. 227, Naber). But, while there is much evidence for the change of *a* into *u* in compounds, especially in early Latin such as Plautus, and while there is an undoubted tendency to archaism in Apuleius, the writing of *u* for *a* in the past-part.-pass. of compounds of *rapio* must have been generally avoided to prevent confusion with the past-part.-pass. of compounds of *rumpo*, and too much stress must not be laid on an isolated instance like the present. We have, therefore, with all previous editors, adopted the generally accepted spelling of the word. For the present passage see Wackernagel, Arch. f. l. Lex. xv. 221.

30. 7. **denique.** For *denique* in an enumeration of two cp. c. 40 *quam medici, quam denique philosophi*. See Gramm. Index, s. v.

30. 16. **limum durabilem.** Dr. Purser suggests to us that the *limus* and *cera* are just bits of clay and wax, and that as the

same fire hardens the one and melts the other, the enchantress hopes that her spells may harden the heart of Daphnis towards other girls and melt it towards her.

34. 12. *ueretillam*. If this is not another example of confusion between *a* and *u* in F, we have to notice the difference of gender in the diminutive and *ueretrum* from which it is formed, for which we may compare *ranunculus* (tadpole) from *rana* (frog). But in the present case the difference may be due to the gender of *mentula*.

36. 24. *habuere*. Though the present would have been more natural, the perfect is intelligible. It is not necessary to accept Krüger's hesitating emendation of *attulere*.

46. 16, 17. *hocine tantum*. The first *tantum* seems to give false emphasis and to be due to the neighbourhood of the same word a little later. We suggest *tandem*, which is used in close contiguity with *crimen* in three other sentences in the Apologia, c. 14 *quod tandem crimen est?* c. 25 *quod tandem est crimen?* c. 34 *quibus tandem uerbis accusasses crimen?*

56. 3. *crepundia*. No other example is quoted of this word with the meaning 'religious emblems'.

56. 7. *mundissima lini seges*, &c. Cp. Herod. ii. 81 ἐνδεδύκασι δὲ κιθῶνας λινέους περὶ τὰ σκέλεα θυσανωτούς, τοὺς καλέουσι καλασίρις· ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ εἰρίνεα εἴματα λευκὰ ἐπαναβληδὸν φορέουσι. οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τὰ ἱρά ἐσφέρεται εἰρίνεα οὐδὲ συγκαταβάπτεται σφί· οὐ γὰρ ὄσιον. ὁμολογέουσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι Ὀρφικοῖσι καλεομένοις καὶ Πυθαγορείοις. See also Abt, p. 289.

79. 1. *destrictius*, 'explicitly'. This use is found in Tertullian: cp. adv. Marc. i. 3 *sed veritas Christiana destrictè pronuntiavit: Deus si non unus est, non est*. Idol. 5 *destrictius reperi potest*. The same use is also found in Ulpian.

82. 17. *pro me ferret*, i.e. *causam meam susciperet*. The phrase is unique, but presents no insuperable difficulty. *ferre* is often used absolutely where *legem* or *privilegium* has to be understood. Here perhaps *opem* is to be supplied. The suggested corrections *staret, faceret, esset* seem improbable and unnecessary.

96. 12. *quas quis*. Dr. Purser suggests *quorsus*.

100. 10. Dr. Purser suggests *set Aemiliani spes* (<*s*> *et Rufini nuptias*, a brilliant emendation, which is probably right.

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I. INDEX OF NAMES

- Abydus 39. 10.
 Adrianus II. 7, 11, 13.
 Aedituus 9. 15.
 Aegyptius 38. 20; 56. 9.
 Aemilia *v.* Pudentilla.
 Aemilianus *v.* Africanus.
 — *v.* Sicinius.
 Aenus 39. 10.
 Aeolus 31. 25.
 Aesculapius 55. 27, 30.
 Afer 66. 27.
 Afranius 12. 19.
 Africanus Censorius 66. 28.
 v. Scipio.
 Agrippa 18. 25.
 A. Albucius 66. 15.
 Alexander (Homerics) 4. 8.
 Alexander (magnus) 22. 25.
 Alexandria 57. 10, 11; 58. 5; 59.
 2; 72. 2.
 Alexandrinus 57. 22.
 Alexis, Ἀλέξιος (Platonis) 10. 26, 28.
 Alexis (*Vergili*) 10. 14.
 Ambracia 39. 11.
 Amicus *v.* Sicinius.
 Anacharsis 24. 18.
 Anaxagoras 27. 4.
 Antisthenes 22. 22.
 M. Antonius 17. 19; 66. 14.
 Apollo 42. 28.
 Apollobex 90. 23.
 Appii 72. 5, 19.
 Appius Quintianus 57. 8; 58.
 passim.
 Apuleius 9. 7; 17. 9, 10; 27. 25,
 27; 53. 11; 82. 4, 16; 83. 6, 18.
 M' Aquilius 66. 16.
 Arabicus 6. 9, 18.
 Archimedes 16. 12.
 Archytas 15. 36.
 Aristides 18. 17.
 Aristoteles 36. 8, 12; 40. 17, 32;
 41. 11; 51. 10; 103. 8.
 Aster 10. 22.
 Athenae 72. 8.
 Athenienses 24. 19; 86. 1.
 Atilius Regulus 18. 27.
 Atticus 24. 30.
 Auitus *v.* Lollianus.
 Babylonicus 38. 20.
 Brundisium 39. 12.
 Caecilius Statius 5. 9.
 Caesar 95. 13.
 Calpurnianus 6. 2, 7, 17; 60. 8.
 Calvus 95. 14.
 Capitolina 61. 22; 62. 1.
 Carbo 17. 20; 66. 14.
 Carmendas 90. 22.
 Carthago 94. 11; 96. 16, 20.
 Cassius Longinus 101. 20, 23.
 M. Cato 17. 26; 95. 11.
 M. Cato (Vticensis) 42. 27, 28.
 C. Catullus 6. 19; 10. 5; 11. 3.
 Catulus 9. 16.
 Censorius *v.* Africanus.
 Ceres 13. 25.
 Chaldaei 97. 11.
 Charadrus Ambraciae 39. 11.
 Charinus 9. 24; 10. 4.
 Charon 23. 19; 56. 21.
 Cicero 95. 15.
 Circe 31. 25.
 Cius 9. 12.
 Clarus *v.* Sicinius.
 Claudius *v.* Maximus.
 Clodia 10. 5.
 Clupea 39. 9.
 Clytemestra 78. 9.
 Coloneus (Oedipus) 37. 4.
 Corcyra 39. 18.

INDEX OF NAMES

Cornelius Saturninus 61. 10; 62.
4, 5, 10; 63. 13.

Coruinius Celer 101. 18, 23.

Corydon 10. 14.

Crassus Diues 20. 14.

Crassus v. Iunius.

Crates 22. 5.

Creta 22. 12.

Critias 9. 24, 34; 10. 4.

Cumae 39. 14.

Cunthia 10. 7.

C. Curio 66. 16.

M' Curius 10. 17; 17. 21, 23; 18. 22.

Cynicus 9. 21; 22. 21, 25; 39. 1.

Cyrus 24. 5.

Damigeron 90. 22.

Dardanus 90. 23.

Delia 10. 8.

Democritus 27. 4.

Demosthenes 15. 15.

Deucalion 41. 18.

Dio Syracusanus, Δίων 10. 32, 34.

Diogenes 9. 21; 22. 22, 24.

Empedocles 27. 10.

Ennianus 13. 3.

Q. Ennius 39. 6.

Epaminondas 18. 17.

Epicurus 15. 29; 27. 5.

Epimenides 27. 9.

Eubulides 15. 19.

Eudemus 36. 8.

Euripides 37. 1.

Eurybates 81. 10.

Fabius 42, 22.

C. Fabricius 10. 17; 18. 22.

C. Furius 66. 15.

Gaetulia 24. 1; 41. 17.

Gentius 10. 10.

Gracchus 95. 12.

Graece 4. 2; 36. 19; 39. 23; 82.
6.

Graecia 31. 9; 55. 18.

Graecus 9. 12; 18. 16; 25. 6;

30. 31, 32; 36. 23; 38. 7, 15;

50, 22; 61. 5; 87. 12.

Granii 1. 13.

Hagesilaus 15. 1.

Hector 4. 8.

Helena 31. 25.

Hercules 22. 27, 28.

Herennius Rufinus 60. 7, 8, 9;

67. 2; 71. 6; 74. 11; 75. 26;

77. 13, 18; 81. 4, 12; 82. 2, 5;

83. 11, 13, 19, 21; 84. 20; 87.

26; 90. 3; 92. 5; 94. 1, 6;

97. 8, 17, 24; 98. 5; 100. 10.

Hiberi 6. 19,

Hispania 17. 27, 31.

Homericus 4. 7; 22. 12.

Homerus 18. 18; 30. 30; 31. 15;

40. 10,

Hortensius 95. 13.

Hostia 10. 7.

Iannes 90. 23.

Italia 31. 9.

Iulia (lex) 88. 14.

Iunius Crassus 57. 58. 59. 60.

passim.

Iuppiter, 39. 15.

Lacedaemonius (Alcman) 9. 12.

Lacedaemonius (Hagesilaus) 15. 1.

Laelius 20. 13; 95. 12.

Laeuius 30. 34.

Latine 4. 3; 36. 19; 38. 7; 39.

23; 98. 27.

Latinus 30. 33; 34. 13; 38. 11, 15.

Lesbia (sc. Catulli) 10. 5.

Lesbia (mulier) (sc. Sappho) 9. 13.

Leucippus 27. 4.

Liber pater 55. 21.

Lollianus Auitus 24. 3; 94. 7, 13,

20; 95. 1, 7, 10, 15, 19; 96. 4,

10, 12.

Lollius Vrbicus 2. 24, 28.

C. Lucilius 10. 9.

Luna 31. 31.

Lycon 36. 8.

Macedo (Philippus) 86. 2.

Macedo (puer) 10. 10.

Mantuanus (poeta) 10. 12.

Masinissa 24. 21.

Maximus Claudius 1. 1; 10. 1; 11.

14; 13. 5; 19. 1; 25. 8, 16, 30;

28. 21; 35. 19; 36. 11; 38. 1;

INDEX OF NAMES

41. 11; 44. 19; 46. 17; 48. 6,
10, 31; 51. 1; 55. 1; 57. 1;
59. 7, 14; 60. 11; 61. 12; 63.
20; 64. 12, 14; 65. 23; 67. 19;
78. 18; 80. 18; 81. 6; 83. 8;
84. 16; 85. 5; 89. 16; 91. 1, 9,
17; 94. 13, 18; 95. 18; 96.
22; 98. 28; 99. 1, 18; 100. 3;
101. 1, 20; 102. 15, 30.
Medea 78. 9.
Meletides 24. 19.
Menelaus 32. 13.
Mercuriolus 61. 26; 63. 12.
Mercurius 31. 30; 42. 21; 43. 21.
Metapontum 31. 8.
Metella 10. 6.
Q. Metellus 66. 16.
Mezentius 56. 23, 28; 89. 13.
Minerva 96. 24.
Mithridaticus 42. 20.
Moses 90. 23.
C. Mucius 66. 14.
Mytilene 39. 11.

Neoptolemus 13. 3.
Neptunus 31. 33.
Nereus 31. 33.
Nestor 39. 16.
Nicander 41. 21.
Nigridius 42. 23.
Nilus 8. 17.
Cn. Norbanus 66. 15.
Numantinus 66. 28.
Numidia 24. 1.

Oea 17. 3, 5, 9, 10; 44. 7, 17; 55.
26; 59. 28; 63. 13; 69. 19.
Oeenses 55. 30; 56. 12; 57. 23;
59. 9; 73. 8; 81. 5.
Olympias 86. 4.
Oromazes, Ὀρομάκης 25. 36; 26. 4.
Orpheus 27. 9; 30. 30; 56. 6.
Ostanes 27. 9; 90. 24.

Palamedes 81. 9.
Pergamum (?) (ostrea Pergami)
35. 10.
Perilla 10. 6.
Persae, Πέρσαι 25. 24, 29, 33; 26.
6.
Phaedra 79. 3.

Phaedrus (dialogus Platonis) 64.
13.
Phaedrus, Φαῖδρος (Platonis) 10. 26,
31.
Pharus 32. 14.
Philippus Macedo 86. 2.
Philomela 78. 9.
Philus 20. 13.
Phliasius 24. 11.
Phocion 18. 17.
Phrynonidas 81. 10.
Pius imperator 85. 5.
Plania 10. 8.
Plato 4. 19; 10. 19, 22, 26; 11.
14; 13. 1, 5; 15. 18, 35; 25. 28;
26. 7; 27. 11; 36. 9; 41. 23;
43. 3; 51. 1; 64. 15; 65. 12,
24; 103. 9.
Platonicus 10. 18; 12. 2; 22. 21;
64. 8.
Pollio 10. 13.
Pontianus v. Sicinius.
Porcius Licinus 9. 15.
Portunus 31. 33.
Propertius 10. 7.
Proteus 31. 24.
Publicola 18. 25.
Pudens v. Sicinius.
— v. Tannonius.
Pudentilla 1. 12; 22. 17; 28. 15;
30. 32; 61. 1; 66. 1, 4; 67.
6; 68. 7; 69. 14; 70. 3, 13;
71. 1, 7; 73. 22; 77. 2, 4; 78.
12; 79. 8, 15, 24; 80. 11; 83.
15, 18; 84. 1, 5, 12; 85. 13;
87. 9, 15, 18; 88. 4, 10; 89. 1,
12, 17; 90. 4, 20; 91. 13; 92.
3, 7, 36; 93. 19; 96. 7; 99.
8; 101. 3, 15, 16; 102. 3, 22.
Punice 98. 26.
Pyrrus 17. 24.
Pythagoras 4. 14; 27. 9; 31. 6;
43. 20; 56. 6.

Quintianus v. Appius.
Quintius 88. 26.

Regulus v. Atilius.
Roma 69. 21; 70. 17; 71. 12.
Romanus 17. 18; 18. 19, 26; 24.
22; 38. 13; 88. 26.

INDEX OF NAMES

Rufinus *v.* Herennius.

Sabini 17. 24.

Sabrata 59. 4.

Salacia 31. 33.

Salustius 95. 14.

Samnites 17. 24.

Saturninus *v.* Cornelius.

Cn. Scipio 18. 22.

Scipio *v.* Africanus 20. 13, 14.

Scribonius Laetus 9. 4.

Scythæ 24. 18.

Semigaetulus 24. 4.

Semimedes 24. 6.

Seminumida 24. 4.

Semipersa 24. 6.

Serranus 10. 17.

Sicinius Aemilianus 1. 2, 18; 2.

20; 3. 15; 8. 1, 5; 10. 15,

19; 11. 12; 12. 20; 16. 16; 17.

14; 19. 3; 20. 21; 22. 6; 23.

10, 14; 24. 28; 28. 17, 28; 29.

1, 24; 32. 2; 36. 2, 22; 44. 14,

25; 45. 27; 46. 14; 52. 1; 53. 7,

16; 54. 11; 55. 2, 5, 6; 56. 11;

58. 21; 59. 6, 10, 18, 28; 60.

3, 4, 20; 64. 1; 65. 2; 66. 10,

25, 27; 68. 2; 69. 13, 19; 70.

1; 71. 6, 10; 74. 19; 78. 17;

83. 1; 87. 2; 88. 9; 89. 7, 20;

90. 2; 92. 2; 96. 4; 98. 5, 11;

100. 10, 20; 102. 1.

Sicinius Amicus 68. 8, 10.

Sicinius Clarus 68. 14, 20; 70. 6, 7.

Sicinius Pontianus 1. 15; 2. 1; 28.

24, 29; 53. 3, 20, 32; 55. 8, 16;

61. 20; 62. 3, 4, 9; 68. 8, 22;

70. 7, 17; 71. 11; 72. 7; 73. 9,

26; 74. 2; 76. 5, 6; 77. 4; 78.

17; 82. 7; 84. 14; 86. 16; 87.

25; 88. 5; 91. 26; 94. 14; 96.

8, 13, 15; 97. 1, 10, 16; 98. 13,

29; 99. 8.

Sicinius Pudens 2. 8; 28. 22; 41.

5; 45. 24; 68. 9; 91. 26; 100.

14.

Sisypheus 81. 9.

Socrates 15. 8; 18. 18; 27. 10.

Solon 9. 17.

Sophocles 37. 1.

Stattius *v.* Caecilius.

Stoicus 15. 37.

P. Sulpicius 66. 15.

Surrentum 39. 14.

Syfax 24. 20.

Syracusanus (Archimedes) 16. 13.

Syracusanus (Dio) 10. 33.

Syrtis 72. 17.

Tannonius Pudens 4. 4; 13. 12;

17. 31; 30. 12; 33. 16; 46. 1,

10, 12.

Tarentum 39. 13.

Teius (*sc.* Anacreon) 9. 12.

Thallus 43. 24, 30; 44. 4, 7, 16,

17, 19; 45. 6, 23; 47. 22; 48.

2; 52. 7, 8, 9, 10.

Thasius 24. 10.

Thebani 22. 6.

Themison 33. 6; 40. 14; 48. 6.

Theocritus 30. 29.

Theophrastus 36. 8; 41. 20; 51.

12.

Thracus 26. 8.

Thyestes 16. 19.

Tibullus 10. 8.

Ticidas 10. 6.

Timæus 49. 1.

Tralles 42. 19.

Triuia 31. 32.

Varro 42. 17.

Velia 4. 16

Venus 12. 3, 9; 30. 11; 31. 31;

34. 6.

Vergilianus 10. 15.

Vergilius 30. 13.

Vlixes 31. 24; 40. 10; 55. 14;

57. 16; 89. 13.

Voconius 11. 7.

Zalmoxis 26. 7, 10.

Zarath 24. 30.

Zarathensis 23. 15.

Zeno (Stoicus) 9. 21.

Zeno (Velia oriundus) 4. 16, 18.

Zoroastres, Ζωροάστρης 25. 35; 26.

4, 11; 31. 6; 90. 24.

II. GENERAL INDEX

The numbers refer to chapters and lines in chapters.

abacus 16. 17.
 abligurrire 59. 24.
 abruptere 98. 10.
 absone 5. 20.
 ac mea ratiocinatione 51. 25.
 accendant 16. 10.
 accipi 13. 15.
 accipiter 34. 18.
 acharna 39. 18.
 acta apud Autum 96. 11.
 ad similitudinem referendam 14. 25.
 adnomentum 56. 21.
 adhortatu 102. 8.
 adiutare 31. 5.
 adnixa effundere 67. 14.
 adolescentem 25. 29.
 adorea 17. 21.
 adprime 31. 16.
 adsolet 84. 20.
 adtemptare 50. 9.
 aduectus 72. 5.
 adverb used as adjective 15. 35.
 aduersum diuitias possessa 18. 4.
 aduolutus pedes nostros 94. 4.
 aenae falces 30. 19.
 albus an ater 16. 25.
 alga ad querceram 35. 18.
 aliquam multus 4. 21; 72. 7.
 altilia 30. 3.
 altius petere 66. 2.
 alumentum 77. 17.
 alumni solent 18. 8.
 amabit sapiens, cupient ceteri 12. 19.
 amaritudines 8. 9.
 amatorii uorsus 9. 1.
 ambifariam 4. 17.
 amens amans 84. 4.
 ἀνάμνησις, doctrine of 12. 17.

ἀνατομῆς, περὶ ζώων 36. 13; 40. 16.
 aniles fabulae 25. 15.
 animantum 64. 19.
 animi trinae potestates 49. 3.
 animi uestibulum 7. 15.
 animum explesse 57. 2.
 anno perpeti 73. 22.
 antipathes 30. 36.
 anuli aurei 75. 22.
 aperire digitos 89. 23.
 aperti immundum 7. 7.
 appellitare 10. 4; 63. 18.
 appositum 16. 10.
 apri 30. 3.
 apriculus 34. 18; 39. 13.
 apud (scansion of), 39. 14.
 aput (= apud) 18. 13 (addenda).
 aqua (water-clock) 28. 3; 37. 16; 46. 12; 94. 21.
 aquariolus 78. 1.
 architectus 74. 24.
 arcus in nubibus 16. 10.
 argumenta ambifariam disseruerit 4. 17.
 argumentum fore 34. 15.
 argumentum habenda 11. 10.
 artes nefandae 25. 11.
 arula 42. 10.
 ascripsisse 31. 17.
 asellus 23. 16.
 asellus piscis 40. 33.
 aspectabilius 14. 4.
 aspra ostrea 39. 10.
 assistere 2. 9; 58. 13; 99. 2.
 assuetudine coniugis torpens 69. 6.
 assulae 35. 9.
 ἀστὴρ πρὶν μὲν ἑλαμπες 10. 24.
 at quidem 41. 22.

GENERAL INDEX

auctor, certissimus uetustatis 40. 10.
auctor (legal term) 101. 18.
auctoramentum 3. 18.
auderes 86. 11.
audire with adverb 3. 27; 56. 23;
governing dative 83. 17.
audirent, auderesne 18. 31.
auditorium 73. 9.
auis (redundant) 8. 22.
auocamentum 43. 8.
austera secta 19. 5.
aut ipsum uiuum, si nequierint, uel
mortuum ostendant 33. 12.
αὐτάρκεια, doctrine of 20. 2.
autumare 4. 19.

beasti 37. 13.
beauty, its connexion with magic
4. 2.
benesuada 18. 5.
bibliotheca 55. 8; 91. 4.
bilis atra 50. 11.
births, registration of 89. 5.
blandire 87. 7.
blaterare 3. 18.
βλητικῶν 41. 20.
bones in fish's stomach 40. 30.
buccones 81. 13.
busequa 10. 16.

caducus 52. 1.
calculus ad uesicam 35. 17.
caliculus 35. 9.
caluaria marina 34. 19; 39. 18.
calumnia 2. 5, 15.
calumniis uelitari 2. 15.
cambiare 17. 2.
cancer ad ulcera 35. 18.
cancrorum furcae 35. 8.
candidato illo socero 99. 3.
candificus 6. 10.
cantamina 26. 14.
cantatus 42. 9.
capularis 66. 24.
carbo de rogo 8. 8.
carmina et uenena 69. 17; 90. 4.
carminibus coactam 67. 8.
carminum uector 31. 31.
catinum fictile 18. 21.
causa cassam 66. 8.
causidici 48. 22.

censeri 57. 25.
censor 11. 12.
centesimus lapis 44. 17.
centunculus 13. 19.
cera inustum 14. 21.
cera liquabilis 30. 17.
cerebrum Iouis 39. 15.
certabundus 22. 26.
ceterum filio suo Sicinio Claro 68.

13.
χονδράκανθα 38. 21.
choragium 13. 17.
Christian, was Aemilianus a? 56.

14.
χρυσὸς δὲ καὶ ἄργυρος κτλ. 65. 18.
cibari 26. 18.
circulare digitos 89. 22.
circumlocutio 33. 19.
circumspectatrix 76. 15.
cista mystica 55. 21.
clam se esse 77. 18.
clanculo 40. 20.
clare dilucet 67. 1.
clarissimam uocem 2. 26.
clepsydra 28. 2; 37. 16; 46. 12;
94. 21.
clerk of court, evidence read by
59. 1.
clipeus 22. 19.
cludine 78. 11.
coacti aeris 15. 36.
coemptor 74. 18.
cogitabilis 64. 22.
cohibebo me 88. 28.
cohibilius 36. 18.
collegisse res cognitu raras 38. 12.
colliquescere 50. 3.
collurchinatio 75. 30.
colonia 24. 23.
comitalis morbus 50. 1.
comitium cogitationum 7. 15.
commeator 64. 2.
commixtio 32. 22.
commodatam 91. 23.
communes differentiae 38. 18.
communia studia 73. 3.
comoediae 30. 30; 88. 23.
competentissime 65. 24.
complanator 6. 11.
conchula 35. 7.
concrementum 49. 14.

GENERAL INDEX

conditam 14. 2.
 conditrix 18. 14.
 conditu 24. 23.
 conexa et catenata 40. 31.
 confinxerunt 33. 15.
 conflictationes 43. 27.
 congestim 35. 3.
 congruentia 15. 20.
 congruentissima 73. 7.
 conquassatus 43. 28.
 consilium 1. 2.
 consularium consilium 2. 25.
 contemptu patrimonii 23. 9.
 contende, si uis 52. 7.
 contra quam 91. 20.
 contrahere, double meaning of 52. 10.
 contrauersim 15. 32.
 contumelias facere 100. 21.
 conuariare 50. 7.
 conuerritor 6. 12.
 conuincam et refutabo pertinere 28. 10.
 corculum 40. 33.
 coturnus facundiae 37. 10.
 creterra 31. 25.
 crocodillus 8. 17.
 crocota 13. 19.
 cruda senectus 53. 9.
 cuia 3. 13.
 cuiauis 82. 21.
 cuius modi 55. 1.
 culpabilis 14. 9.
 cum septem pennis tenere 103. 16.
 cuppedinarius 29. 14.
 curator 2. 8.
 curia 24. 26.
 curriculo 44. 18 ; 63. 11.
 de qua supra dixeram 93. 11.
 defaeneratus 75. 19.
 defectiora 16. 6.
 defraglare 25. 15.
 degulator 75. 29.
 delenimentum 43. 8.
 deliramentum 29. 2.
 dementire 45. 28.
 demersui 21. 17.
 demissum 67. 19.
 denarium 42. 23.
 denticulus 8. 13.

denubere 70. 6.
 denuntiatio 60. 1.
 denuo 2. 12.
 depector 74. 22 (see also 60. 8).
 depensa 3. 18.
 depenso 29. 16.
 deprecator 60. 8.
 δερμόπτερα 38. 23.
 des contra 9. 38.
 descriptio 2. 4.
 deserpere 63. 23.
 despuere 44. 4.
 destinatus 25. 21.
 desudare 59. 13.
 detestari 52. 5.
 deuerticulum 80. 17.
 dictare 101. 6.
 dictum habeo 87. 17.
 didicerit 46. 14.
 differentis (= iis) 38. 19.
 dilapidare 75. 31.
 directa nomina 10. 11.
 discēdere 48. 10.
 discolora 30. 16.
 discourses of Apuleius 24. 3 ; 55. 25 ; 73. 4.
 discriminare 4. 30.
 dispositionem 96. 5.
 dispudet 63. 17.
 disquamari 42. 6.
 dissertare 5. 17.
 dissimulamenti causa 87. 18.
 diuersurum 99. 13.
 diuidia 28. 18.
 diuidua pars 91. 27.
 diuinum 26. 3.
 diuinus morbus 50. 22.
 diuque noctuque 5. 5.
 diutine 47. 20.
 diutino 14. 12.
 docear 13. 23.
 domi sedere 76. 6.
 donaci 9. 42.
 dos, borrowing of, by Rufinus 76. 18.
 dotales tabulae 102. 25 ; 103. 11.
 duit 64. 1.
 dulcedo 50. 11.
 dulciloquus 9. 43.
 dum potiar, patiar 9. 27.
 duodecim tabulae 47. 9.
 duumuiralis 24. 24.

GENERAL INDEX

eadem opera 10. 4 ; 35. 6.
eadem uia 79. 12.
ears, noises in 48. 8.
ebrius 59. 17.
eccille 53. 22.
echini 35. 8 ; 39. 19.
edulia 29. 16.
effabilis 64. 22.
effigatus 14. 8.
efflictim 100. 25.
ehem 98. 5.
eiectamenta 35. 11.
eiusdem ac Thalli ualetudinis 48. 2.
elegia 10. 20.
elinguis 8. 19.
elleborus 32. 20.
elogium 99. 11.
elops 39. 14.
eloquence, its connexion with magic 4. 2.
eloquentiae patrociniū 34. 3.
ἐλθὲ τοίνυν 82. 4.
emaculare 8. 7.
emasculator 74. 27.
en uorsus ipsos quos agnoscent 30. 34.
epilepsy, causes of 49. 1 ; aversion of, by spitting 44. 4 ; detection by jet 45. 14 ; by potter's wheel 45. 17 ; symptoms of 50. 7 ; during sleep 50. 16.
epistolium 6. 1 ; 79. 3.
ereptum 28. 24.
et quidem si praelegam 94. 19.
etiam ea etsi 19. 9.
etsi pereleganter 12. 18.
εὐαγές 65. 20.
εὐχαρι 65. 20.
evidence, reading of 69. 22 ; 70. 26 ; 80. 13.
exacerbescere 85. 7.
exaduersum 16. 9.
exdorsari 42. 6.
exinde ut 3. 28.
exossis 40. 30.
exossis et eneruis 74. 29.
exoticus 8. 7.
expergitus 43. 18.
experiendō comperisti 81. 7.
exsculpere 8. 23.
exsoleto . . . obsoleto 76. 12.

extrarium lumen 15. 34.
extumuit 78. 2.
extundere 93. 20.
exul Oea est 44. 17.
fabricatam 63. 2.
facie ulcerosus 43. 27.
factum uolebat 61. 21.
falces aenae 30. 19.
famem propulsasse 32. 15.
famulitium 17. 15
fauisor 93. 7.
festinatio iudicii 84. 14.
fetulentus 7. 7.
fetutina 8. 10.
fidem arbitrari 51. 2.
fingers, numbers indicated by gestures of 89. 22.
finis calumniae 33. 15.
fish, engendered in mud 38. 4 ; Greek names of 38. 21.
flammeo obsoleto 76. 12.
floris rudimentum 92. 19.
fluticulus 35. 5.
fluor 15. 30.
foras 16. 9 ; 35. 5.
formidamen 64. 6.
formidines pinnarum 60. 18.
formonsus 4. 2.
fornacula 74. 19.
fraude 81. 4.
fringultire 34. 5.
frutex 66. 29.
fuere 56. 19.
fugela 98. 20.
fumum uendere 60. 20.
gagates (detection of epilepsy by) 45. 14.
galerum 22. 24.
gallinae 47. 21.
genitu 36. 10.
genitum pergam 38. 8.
genius 9. 33.
geometricae formae 61. 14.
gingiuula 6. 11.
glaucus 39. 14.
globosus 4. 29.
graecissare 98. 27.
gratia . . . causa 27. 16.
gratulor 1. 7.

GENERAL INDEX

gratum habitum obiecistis cum, etc.,
22. 1.

grauari 3. 26.

gulones 32. 16.

gumia 57. 6.

habet . . . possidet 13. 13.

habitus 4. 24.

habuere 36. 24.

hamulus 32. 14.

hasce 9. 27.

haud magis 24. 5.

hedyphagetica 39. 6.

hens, sacrifice of 47. 21.

hepatia 41. 4.

hic iam illa 75. 12.

hiemps anni 72. 4.

hinnientium dulcedines 30. 40.

hippomanes 30. 21, 40.

historiae 30. 31.

histrio 13. 18; 74. 30.

homines iuvenes 66. 16.

homo natus 8. 16; 14. 4.

homo rusticanus et decrepitus 70. 8.

honos praefandus 75. 2.

humanitus 100. 5.

hydromancy 42. 21.

hypermeter 39. 12.

iambicus 10. 9.

ignarus 12. 2.

ignis et ignis 9. 26.

ignoscendi . . . cognoscendi 65. 8.

illectamentum 98. 2.

illo (dative) 99. 4.

imaginari 15. 40.

imaginis 14. 25.

immane quanto 28. 18.

immedicatus 76. 17.

impedio 3. 27.

implexis . . . complexa 9. 40.

impunitum Crasso foret 60. 19.

in hodiernum 18. 20; 38. 13; 53. 22.

in propatulo (et celebri) 16. 33;

(et conspicuo) 7. 8.

incredundus 47. 9.

incubation 54. 4.

incusus 14. 21.

inde 61. 1.

inhonestamentum 3. 22.

inītia 55. 18.

initialis 64. 18.

innocentiam eloquentiam esse 5.

10.

inpraesentiarum 48. 11; 65. 4.

inquires animi fuit 79. 21.

insigniter 73. 7.

insimulator 30. 23.

insolita 60. 14.

inspicere 51. 23.

instudiosus 40. 2.

integer 43. 15.

intemperantissime 74. 20.

intentu aeris coacti 15. 36.

intercessor 60. 7.

interfeminiū 33. 22.

intergarrere 17. 10.

interibi 73. 4.

interspersa atque interseminata 40.

4.

intestatus puer 98. 7.

inuenit 33. 8.

inuertisset 44. 28.

inuestis 98. 18.

inuncare 30. 26.

irreproscibilis 92. 28.

iste 18. 21.

iurganti . . . obiurganti 15. 22.

iurgiosus 16. 24.

iurulentus 39. 21.

καρχαρόδοντα 38. 22.

κατήγοροι ἡμῶν κακοῦθεις 83. 5.

lacinia 19. 10.

laciniosus 21. 14.

lana 56. 5.

languages, spoken by Apuleius 4.

2; by Pudens 98. 27; written

by Aemilianus 70. 1.

lapilli 31. 27.

lapis unctus 56. 20.

lararium 55. 8.

lares 53. 3.

larua 63. 18; 64. 5.

laruatus 63. 29.

lauacrum 59. 12.

laurus fragilis 30. 16.

Laws of Plato 65. 12.

legal points: consilium of asses-

sors 1. 2; suit against Granii 1.

13; patroni 1. 14; lex Cornelia

GENERAL INDEX

2. 2; subscriptio 2. 2; descriptio 2. 4; assistere 2. 9; curator, legal status of Pudens 2. 8; profiteri 2. 2, 18; praefectus urbi, jurisdiction of 2. 24; Twelve tables 47. 9; denuntiatio 60. 1; patria potestas 68. 9, 11; evidence read 69. 22; 70. 26; 80. 13; 94. 19; 101. 23; evidence copied 78. 16; tabulae nuptiales 68. 19; tutor 68. 23; dos 71. 13; toga uirilis 70. 22; 73. 30; 88. 6; lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus 88. 14; register of births 89. 5; quadruplator 89. 15; testamentum illud recens 97. 5; intestatus puer 98. 7; elogium 99. 11; quaestor publicus 101. 17; tutor auctor 101. 18.

lemures 64. 4.

λεπιδατά 38. 22.

lepores 30. 3.

lepus marinus 33. 4; 40. 24.

letters from Aemilianus to Pontianus 70. 1. 13; from Pudentilla 78. 16; 82. 4; 83. 4; 87. 16.

lex Iulia 88. 14.

libellus 2. 7.

liber et liberalis 7. 17.

liberorum . . . liberius 93. 4.

licia discolora 30. 16.

lignum in trunco 23. 13.

ligula 35. 9.

limus durabilis 30. 16.

linen, use of by Pythagoreans 56. 5.

lintea, legacy of 97. 19.

linum 89. 8.

liquabilis 30. 17.

lituus 22. 24.

locus aut lucus 56. 18.

longa dote 92. 15.

lubricum soli 27. 29.

lucerna (use of in magic) 42. 10.

lurco 57. 7.

lustrator 22. 28.

lustrum 74. 25.

macci 81. 13.

machinatu 74. 21.

macilentus 63. 1.

maculationes 50. 7.

Madaura 24. 23.

μαγεύειν 82. 4.

magiae et maleficii criminis 96. 6.

magian 29. 5.

magic: alienos fructus incantare 47.

9; antipathes 30. 36; ars a name for magic 25. 11; arula 42. 10; ἀφύη used in magic 30. 9; Babylonian words in magic 38. 20; boar in magic 30. 3; books banned 91. 4; boys used for divination 42. 8; must be pure 43. 15; bronze employed 30. 19; buzzing in ears (meaning of) 48. 8; carmina et uenena 69. 17; 90. 4; synonyms for 69. 17; catoptromancy 13. 11; cingulum of Venus 31. 26; clay in magic 30. 16; crabs cure for cancer 35. 8 and 18; 'doing' in magic 1. 15; dolphin is uenereus 30. 9; ἐγκοίμησις 47. 21; 54. 4; edulia 29. 16; Egyptian words in magic 38. 20; Epimenides as magician 27. 9; ἐχενής 30. 9; finding of lost money 42. 23; fish for love-magic 30. 9; gagates 45. 14; Greek dramas dealing with magic 30. 30; Greek histories and magic 30. 31; Greek words used in magic 38. 20; hare in magic 30. 3; hens offered to Chthonian deities 47. 21; Hebrew words used in modern magic 38. 20; herba scorpio 34. 9; hippomanes 30. 21, 40; Homer 30. 30; 31. 15 sqq.; hydromancy 42. 10, 21; incense 30. 16; Jambres (Jannes and) 90. 23; Jesus regarded as magician 90. 23; lamp (use of) 42. 10; laruatus 63. 29; Latin words used in modern magic 38. 20; laurus 30. 16; licia 30. 16; magia (first use of word) 2. 5; magus (origin of name) 25. 25; maleficium 1. 15; 9. 3; 30. 27, &c.; Mercury 31. 30; moon 30. 19; 31. 31; Moses learned in magic 90. 23; Neptune 31. 33;

GENERAL INDEX

- Nereids 31. 33; newts (for epilepsy) 51. 16; Orpheus as magician 27. 9; Ostanēs 27. 9; 90. 24; pebbles as cure 35. 17; penalties 1. 15; phallic gestures apotropaic 34. 12; φιλτροκατάδεσμοι 67. 8; Plato as magician 27. 11; Portunus 31. 33; practice of magic in private 47. 12; . . . in public 42. 9; Pythagoras 27. 9; radiculæ 30. 38; resticulæ 35. 10; Salacia 31. 33; scrying 42. 21; sea-urchins (for epilepsy) 35. 8; sex of person who resorts to magic 67. 8; skulls 34. 19; smells 43. 8; Socrates 27. 10; spitting (for epilepsy) 44. 4; stones with magic property 31. 27; swindlers in hydromancy 42. 21; taeniae 30. 37; τρίγλη 30. 9; Triuia 30. 9; 31. 32; trochiscili 30. 37; Twelve Tables forbid magic 1. 15; 47. 9; two-tailed lizards 30. 39; Venus 31. 26, 31; uerbenae 30. 15; 54. 27; uitae 30. 15; wax 30. 17.
- magica nomina 38. 20.
- magis 43. 1.
- magister 97. 2.
- magister conuiuio 98. 23.
- magnu(s) 39. 12.
- maior morbus 50. 21.
- maiores 36. 7.
- μαλάκεια 38. 21.
- μαλακόστρακα 38. 21.
- male compertam 97. 17.
- male faciundum 90. 9.
- maleficium 1. 15; 9. 3; 29. 10; 30. 27; 96. 6.
- male parta male pereunt 75. 33.
- malum 8. 11.
- manes 64. 4.
- manticulari 55. 15.
- manum labris admoouere 56. 15.
- manum non uorterim 56. 28.
- manus 71. 13.
- masks 16. 19.
- mechanica 61. 16.
- medii oculi 15. 33.
- mediterraneus 41. 17.
- melanurus 39. 17.
- memoracula 56. 27.
- mendacem memorem esse oportere 69. 18.
- mendicabulum 22. 27.
- mensa 17. 30.
- merere 75. 10.
- mergere 32. 17.
- merito 8. 15.
- μηρῶν ἰμείρων κτλ. 9. 19.
- merula 39. 17.
- minor Mineruae 96. 24.
- minores 36. 9.
- modice 23. 5.
- modico 17. 5.
- moneta 38. 15.
- μονήρη 38. 23.
- montes auri 20. 8.
- morigerus 14. 17.
- morum proborum 75. 32.
- mulieri amanti 67. 16.
- multiugus 36. 14.
- multiscius 31. 15.
- munditer 33. 21.
- munditias 6. 8.
- mundus 13. 25.
- munera deum gloriosissima 4. 11.
- munerari 11. 8.
- munere populi Romani 24. 22.
- mures 39. 10.
- muriculi 39. 19.
- mustela marina 39. 9.
- mutuarius 17. 2.
- myoparo 32. 5.
- naribus hiulcus 43. 29.
- naturales questiones 36. 24.
- natu'st 103. 10.
- nauci 91. 11.
- ne mater tua, non dico amatrix, sed ne omnino femina sit 85. 10.
- necessarium habeo 32. 19.
- neuter singular, after sum of money 23. 4.
- newts, malice of 51. 12.
- ni id onus recipiam 73. 14.
- nihili 67. 17.
- nimietas 19. 15.
- nisi rus adeo iam diu 44. 10.
- nitelae 6. 9.
- noctes 75. 11.

GENERAL INDEX

nollem profectum 98. 8.
 non ita pridem ante multos annos
 72. 8.
 non opinor 13. 19.
 nota collusio 75. 12.
 numbers, expressed by gesture 89.
 22.
 numero 40. 30.
 nuncupo followed by se esse 4. 15.
 νῦν δ' ὅτε μηδὲν Ἀλεξίς κτλ. 10. 28.
 nunquam 40. 32.
 nuper usque 16. 25 ; 23. 15.
 nuptiae 88. 3 sqq.
 nuptiales tabulae 68. 19.
 nupturio 70. 9.
 nutricare 18. 12.

ob os obicere 89. 7.
 obcantatus 84. 3.
 obeuntem senectam 14. 18.
 obfrenatus 77. 11.
 obiectamentum 1. 17.
 obirasci 3. 28.
 obliuio capesseret 86. 17.
 oboluisse 60. 16.
 obruit et obturbat 50. 16.
 obsoletior 3. 9.
 obsternere 97. 26.
 obteruerit 8. 8.
 obtinnire 48. 8.
 obtutus 16. 5.
 occepit 1. 20.
 occursaculum 64. 6.
 octaphorus 76. 14.
 odores, use of in magic 43. 8.
 olenticeta 8. 10.
 olim 18. 2 ; 45. 3.
 omnimodus 50. 7.
 opera est 36. 21.
 opifex 14. 27.
 oppido 3. 35 ; 62. 15 ; 67. 22.
 opprobare 4. 7.
 oratio 94. 8.
 orgia 13. 19.
 oriundus 4. 16.
 ossum 49. 12.
 ostendistis 24. 2.
 ostensus 44. 8.
 ostentatrix 76. 15.
 ὀστρακόδερμα 38. 22.
 ostrea Pergami 35. 10.

ouiparus 38. 6.
 οὐρανοῦ νῶτον 64. 13.
 ὦ ἔμδν ἐκμήνας θυμὸν ἔρωτι, Δίῳ 10.
 33.
 paenissime 99. 7.
 παίδων ἐπ' ἀρότω, γνησίῳ ἐπὶ σπορῇ
 88. 25.
 paludamentum 22. 23.
 parallelism, apparent 47. 11.
 pares anguli 15. 38.
 parhelia 16. 11.
 parti 42. 25.
 partim 27. 2 ; 56. 12.
 pasco 21. 9.
 paterna bona 68. 16.
 patrocinium eloquentiae 34. 3.
 patroni rerum naturae 27. 5.
 patronus 1. 14 ; 17. 4. 19.
 paucioris habeo 21. 9.
 paucorum mensium 97. 9.
 paupertas 18. 1 sqq.
 pax 75. 21.
 pecten marinus 34. 17 ; 39. 11.
 pecunius 12. 6.
 pennae septem 103. 16.
 pera et baculus 22. 2 ; 25. 4.
 peram et baculum tu philosophis
 22. 17.
 perduint 75. 2.
 πῆρῃ τις πόλις ἔστι κτλ. 22. 15.
 peregrinatio 23. 5.
 perfossor 32. 6.
 pergnarus 26. 3.
 περὶ τὸν πάντων βασιλεία 64. 16.
 perorare 101. 7.
 perpes 73. 22.
 peruelle 98. 11.
 perula 22. 11.
 peruulgator 42. 7.
 petitu 48. 30.
 phalerae 22. 18.
 philosophers, charges brought
 against 3. 16.
 philosophers, poor 20. 17.
 philosophiae 103. 15.
 philosophus, invention of name 4.
 14.
 phrygiones 29. 6.
 piacular sacrum 45. 22.
 pingi . . . fingi 15. 2.

GENERAL INDEX

pinnis apta 83. 10.
 piscis 30. 9.
 pisculentus 31. 23.
 pluribus philosophari 13. 3.
 poematibus 5. 9.
 poeta praecipuus 7. 11; 32. 14.
 ποιεῖσθαι 83. 4.
 pollicitus es 46. 10.
 polypus 39. 18.
 popinam ructus 59. 23.
 porta triumphalis 17. 22.
 possessu 13. 20.
 post quam 97. 4.
 prae ceteris malle 71. 4.
 praedis = praediis 93. 12.
 praedita quae sit optimati amore
 12. 9.
 praefectus urbi 2. 24.
 praefero with acc. and inf. 5. 11.
 praelauitur 8. 15.
 praelegere 94. 19.
 praeministra 8. 10.
 praeripia 8. 21.
 praesagare 43. 12.
 praesens est 62. 2.
 praestinare 101. 22.
 preces allegare 7. 10.
 pridianus 6. 12.
 primori fronte 40. 23.
 prius dixerim 40. 14.
 pro maximo 3. 14.
 pro meo captu 7. 16.
 problemata 36. 14; 51. 10.
 procatio 72. 1.
 proconsulari 85. 4.
 procurator 1. 12.
 professor 2. 18.
 professus est 89. 5.
 prolapsus 46. 19.
 proliquo 15. 34.
 promptaria cella 54. 31.
 promus 53. 24.
 propinquitat nominum 34. 9.
 propudiosus 75. 4.
 proquirare 82. 16.
 prosapia 18. 29.
 prospirare 50. 5.
 proxime 31. 8.
 proximus 9. 6; 29. 24; 35. 20.
 prudens et sciens 52. 12.
 publicitus 14. 6.

puer, use of in divination 42. 8.
 pueri 9. 3.
 pulvisculus 6. 10; 16. 17.
 pumicare 6. 20.
 pupilli 68. 9.
 purpurissatus 76. 17.
 quadrigae albae 22. 19.
 quadruplator 89. 15.
 quaerit 32. 4.
 quaestor publicus 101. 17.
 qualisnam 2. 18.
 quam in omnibus minor Mineruae
 curriculum cum fratre currat 96.
 23.
 quanquam etsi 79. 1.
 quattuordecim anni 68. 11.
 quid posses uel quas quis accusare
 96. 12 (addenda).
 quindecimui 47. 16.
 quiquam 7. 9.
 quisquillae 34. 21.
 quod praeterii 53. 1.
 rabula 3. 19.
 radii nostri 15. 33.
 reapse 67. 22.
 regalia 26. 5.
 rei spei 77. 1.
 religio 45. 26.
 reliqua 6. 12.
 rem ei 99. 17.
 remedio acceptum 54. 3.
 remotis arbitris 42. 9.
 repertrix 18. 14.
 repotia 59. 12.
 res cognitu raras 38. 12.
 resticula 35. 10.
 restrictis labellis 6. 14.
 reuereri . . . uereri 103. 18.
 rictum restrictum 59. 22.
 rigor 14. 14.
 route from Oea to Alexandria 72.
 17.
 ruratio 56. 15.
 ruspari 41. 4.
 sacerdotia 26. 11.
 saltandis fabulis 74. 28.
 saltim 102. 19.
 salue agere 44. 20.

GENERAL INDEX

sargus 39. 12.
 scaevi ominis mulier 92. 31.
 scarum 39. 15.
 scelera = scelesti 18. 9.
 scelestus . . . sceletum 63. 14.
 scribere aliquid 75. 16.
 scrupulus 48. 27.
 sectator 17. 17.
 seduli 36. 24.
 sedulo 3. 21.
 segnissimus 56. 5.
 σελάχεια 38. 21.
 senium 51. 16.
 sequens 49. 10.
 serius 9. 17.
 sermocinatio 26. 7.
 serui quindecim 47. 2.
 seruosne tu habeas 17. 1.
 si nusquam passus sum 90. 16.
 si per uerum uelis 98. 11.
 si quid esse 31. 13.
 si quo eat 40. 23.
 sic, ut 54. 20.
 silex 88. 19.
 similes (used absolutely) 14. 5.
 simpliciter uereor 27. 14.
 simpulum 18. 20.
 simulacrum in aqua 42. 21.
 simulatam 19. 21.
 sine opera opifex 64. 20.
 sis 20. 19.
 soli 16. 3.
 solitas 22. 9.
 sollicitius 3. 6.
 somnio imperatum 54. 4.
 σωφρονέστατος 25. 34.
 sospitator 64. 20.
 spectaculo 15. 7.
 speculum 13. 11, 13; 15. 7; 16. 8.
 spitting, aversion of epilepsy by 44. 4.
 splendidare 103. 6.
 sportula 88. 3.
 spumabundus 44. 28.
 spuria 35. 16.
 statua Veneris 34. 6.
 statues 14. 6.
 statuto praemio 33. 3.
 στεγανόποδα 38. 23.
 strangulatio 50. 17.
 stultitia euectus 53. 17.

suasi ac denique persuasi 93. 8.
 subare 38. 5.
 subigitare 87. 13.
 subneruiare 84. 18.
 subscribendum 2. 2.
 subscribitur . . . scribitur 79. 10.
 subsiciuus 31. 9.
 sueta 3. 16.
 sulci rugarum 16. 21.
 συναγελαστικά 38. 23.
 suppetias 40. 8.
 supremum iudicium 70. 24.
 surire 38. 5.
 suscipiendam 15. 22.
 sustentui 21. 17.
 sustine paulisper quae secuntur 80. 17.
 symposia 57. 11.
 symptoms of Pudentilla's illness 69. 4.
 syrma 13. 18.

tabernarius 87. 13.
 tabes albida et tumida 50. 4.
 tabulae donationis 102. 25.
 tabulae dotis 102. 25; 103. 11.
 tabulae nuptiales 68. 19.
 tabulae testamenti 102. 26.
 tabularium publicum 89. 6.
 tabularius 78. 16.
 tacere 2. 3.
 taeniae 30. 37.
 tamen 86. 8.
 tanti estis quantum habetis 23. 11.
 tempestium conuiuium 47. 15.
 tempestius imber 23. 16.
 τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἐκφ. 84. 4.
 tenerem 44. 26.
 tergo restitit 64. 11.
 terriculamentum 64. 7.
 testam striatam habentem 35. 7.
 testamentum 35. 18.
 testamentum illud recens 97. 5.
 testimonium (interpolated) 101. 23.
 tete 45. 27.
 thymelicus 13. 17.
 tirocinium orationis suae 94. 8.
 tmesis 54. 29; 98. 11.
 toga palmata 22. 20.
 toga uirilis 70. 22; 73. 30; 88. 6.

GENERAL INDEX

τὸν ὑπερουράνιον τόπον κτλ. 64. 12.
tot iam domus contumeliis abnuuit
76. 1.

tragoedia 30. 30.
transuorare 93. 9.
tributum 101. 16.
trifariam 49. 6.
tris Oeae manu misisse 17. 3.
tristitudo 32. 8.
triumphator 17. 25.
trochiscili 30. 37.
tumidulus 6. 11.
tunc deinde 73. 30.
τύφω 22. 15.
tura mascula 30. 16.
turbare 82. 14.
turdus 39. 17.
tutor 68. 23.
tutor auctor 101. 18.

u and b, confusion of 102. 10.
uectigalis 75. 9.
uector carminum 31. 31.
uel his (concealing name of magi-
cian) 90. 23.
uel uda uel suda 16. 3.
ueneficium an beneficium 102. 10.
uenia assistendi 2. 16.
uerbenae pingues 30. 15.
uerbigerari 73. 20.
ueretilla 34. 12 (addenda).
ueritas . . . nunc se effert et uelut
alto barathro calumnia se mergit
83. 22.
uernacula 18. 3 (addenda).
uertit cornua 81. 2.
uestio 21. 10.
uestitior 22. 31.
uexilla 22. 19.

ui immodica 12. 7.
uidua 76. 5.
uili aestimata praedia 93. 12.
uilla publica 17. 29.
uilla suburbana, marriage in 88. 10.
uillico 87. 23.
uincibilia 35. 22.
uipera 85. 14.
uir bonus dicendi peritus 94. 17.
uir clarissimus 2. 24.
uirginal 34. 13.
uirtutum 73. 23.
uirus . . . uiribus 67. 13.
vision, theories of 15. 29 sqq.
uisitur 98. 24.
uittae molles 30. 15.
uiuens et uidens 85. 17.
ultimus 85. 7.
umbra marina 39. 17.
umbrae 64. 3.
ungues 30. 37.
uocales uocem usurparent 83. 8.
uocent 40. 26.
uolpio 86. 21.
uorsibus scripsit 39. 6.
uorsus 9. 1.
uorsus non ignotus 85. 23.
uorterim 56. 28.
uorti 3. 36.
uotum signare 54. 22.
usus est 40. 8.
uterum 85. 13.
utiliter 3. 17.
utut 43. 12.
uulgarius 12. 5.
uulsis maxillis 59. 20.

wool, avoidance of, by Pytha-
goreans 56. 5.

III. GRAMMATICAL INDEX

This index contains a considerable number of examples on which it has not been thought necessary to write separate notes.

Cases.

Ablative.

- cause : 17. 21 tot adoleis longe incluto. 74. 26 cunctis probris notus. 81. 11 dolo memorandi.
- instead of acc. of duration : 27. 19 ; 69. 5 tot annis. 72. 7 aliquam multis diebus. 57. 17 compluribus annis. 73. 22 anno perpeti.
- instrument : 9. 40 corpore redde. 75. 10 corpore meret. 52. 2 tot calumniis cecidisti.
- sc. uerbis : 77. 10 ; 89. 14 multis. 3. 21 ; 74. 13 ; 89. 3 paucis. 13. 3 ; 55. 4 ; 80. 13 ; 89. 4 pluribus.
- locative : (of place where) 87. 29 conducto loco. 89. 6 tabulario publico. (of way by which) 17. 22 una porta.
- manner : 28. 1 ; 57. 3 ; 72. 13 bono periculo. 53. 33 indiuiduo contubernio.
- measure : 3. 33 ; 42. 2 multo tanta. 89. 20 dimidio tanta. 99. 31 nimio plus aequo.
- multo with positive : 48. 25 multo arduum.
- (extended use) 89. 10 lustro mentitus sit.
- price : 57. 25 quo solo censetur. 93. 12 uili (sc. pretio).
- reinforcing meaning of verb : (without adj.) 10. 21 igni deussit. 42. 13 praesagio praedixisse. 79. 6 animo putauit.
- (with adj.) 1. 17 crebris flagitationibus prouocaui. 3. 16 mercenaria loquacitate effutierunt. 68. 20 uariis frustrationibus eludit. 98. 20 magna fugela fugit.
- respect : 7. 18 loco celsa, uisu prompta, usu facunda. 13. 20 plurimis rebus possessu careo, usu fruor.
- separation : 7. 12 muro proficiscitur. 48. 27 ; 65. 9 ; 69. 1 scrupulo liberatur. 49. 9 modo excessit aut loco demigrauit. 92. 24 domo demigrare, praediis cedere.
- with alius : 67. 1 aliam rem inuidia.
- confido : 1. 6 quo uno confisus. 87. 7 magia confidebam.
- potens : 18. 3 paruo potens.
- solitarius : 47. 12 arbitris solitaria.

Accusative.

- cognate : (without adjective) 24. 8 uitam uiuere.
- descriptive : (with noun) 98. 22 puer hoc aeu.
- id genus (with nom.) 36. 15 ; 82. 25 ; (with further qualifying phrase uti tu es) 23. 10.

GRAMMATICAL INDEX

Cases.—*Accusative*—(continued).

(with acc.) 9. 22; 10. 18; 11. 17; 26. 22; 32. 11.

(with dat.) 3. 19.

governed by *arbitror*: 51. 2 *fidem*.

fruo: 72. 21 *prospectum*.

fungor: 19. 21 *eam*.

obliuiscor: (pers.) 2. 1 *filium*.

obliuiscor: (thing) 46. 14 *nomina*.

participo: 24. 26 *curiam*. 47. 16 *sacrum*. 55. 18 *initia*.

proxime: 31. 8 *Metapontum*.

verb compounded with *ad*: 48. 5 *qui me accessere*.

94. 4 *pedes nostros aduolutus*. 99. 2 *tribunal adsistitis*.

verbal adjective in-*bundus*: 72. 14 *uoluntatem meam periclitabundus*. 79. 2 *excusabunda se*. 94. 5

manus nostras osculabundus.

respect: 40. 29 *cetera exossis*.

Dative.

advantage: 52. 8 *Thallus sibi, tu etiam aliis furis*.

double dat. of purpose and advantage: 6. 6. 56. 8.

governed by *adsurgo*: 37. 9 *tanto poetæ*.

attingo: 100. 5 *ei*.

audio: 83. 17 *sibi*.

aufero (= secure): 72. 19 *meis Appiis*.

curo: 12. 10 *hominibus*. 36. 3 *rebus meis*.

supersedeo: 17. 32 *maledicto*. 88. 7 *conuiuuiis*.

uito: 29. 8 *calumniis*.

instead of genitive (with noun): 1. 20 *latibulum temeritati*. 56. 4 *rebus diuinis uelamentum*. 98. 23 *magister conuiuio*.

purpose (pred. with ordinary verbs) *sum*: 28. 18; 51. 15; 94. 20.

habeo: 46. 18; 56. 11.

do: 3. 37; 21. 5, 8; 71. 5; 91. 15.

uorto (*uitio uorti*): 3. 36; 34. 1; 74. 11.

(extended use with other verbs)—

accipio: 54. 3.

desidero: 29. 16.

exubero: 19. 12.

paro: 32. 12.

profero: 1. 17.

quaero: 29. 10; 34. 17.

tribuo: 14. 7.

(loosely used with adj.): 21. 17 *leuia sustentui, grauia demersui*.

47. 18 *conscientiae nimis multi . . . adiutorio necessaria*.

redundant dat. (with *habeo*): 63. 7 *morem mihi habeo*.

(with *suus*): 6. 19 *sua sibi urina*. 69. 22 *sua sibi uoce*.

used with *adolesco* (= in with acc.): 25. 29 *regno adolescentem*.

Genitive.

Equivalent of governing noun: 6. 13 *labes sordium*. 60. 18 *pinarum formidines*.

GRAMMATICAL INDEX

Cases.—*Genitive*—(continued).

Greek genitive: 10. 14 abstinens nominum.
 19. 4 huius animi frustra es.
 50. 5 foras corporis.
 90. 16 omnium purgavi.

instead of possessive adjective. (mei): 1. 3; 4. 4; 25. 14; 99. 24.
 (sui): 21. 19; 45. 18; 82. 22.

judicial (accuso): 37. 3; 47. 2; 100. 25.

(arcesso): 32. 24.

(condemno): 37. 7, 12.

(conuinco): 44. 9.

(defero): 9. 10.

(increpo): 77. 14.

(insector): 96. 6.

(insimulo): 1. 14.

(plector): 2. 10.

(postulo): 2. 22; 79. 13; 90. 5.

(reuinco): 62. 8.

locative: 16. 22 si boni consulis. 99. 4.

22. 3 tantus animi. 74. 6 animi mutatur.

partitive (with adj.): 37. 4 peregregriam tragoediarum. 38. 2 antiquos philosophorum. 43. 12 futura rerum.

(with adverbs of place): 31. 20 alibi carminum. 35. 11

ubique locorum. 39. 20; 59. 2 ubi gentium. 40. 19

ubicumque locorum. 42. 25 ubi locorum. 88. 15

nusquam sui. 95. 11 undique sui.

(with pronouns): 5. 4. 56. 13 ad hoc aevi. 98. 22 hoc

aevi. 38. 4 quid anni. 58. 11 quid eius. 59. 11 quid diei.

(with words specifying amount): 28. 3 largiter aquae.

42. 23 quingentos denarium.

quality, &c.: 45. 17; 48. 2 eiusdem uoletudinis. And possibly 97. 9 paucorum mensium.

with adjectives and participles: 18. 4 aemulus. 80. 12 compos.

3. 26; 31. 31 conscius. 66. 23; 72. 15; 102. 17 cupidus.

73. 24 cupiens. 43. 2 dubius. 33. 6 ignarus. 31. 31 illex.

77. 1 immodicus. 40. 2; 57. 24; 87. 12 imperitus. 18. 14

inops. 3. 32 insolens. 40. 2 instudiosus. 77. 1 modicus.

18. 15 munificus. 42. 11 nesciens. 56. 29 particeps. 31. 7,

16; 92. 13 peritus. 26. 2 pergnarus. 102. 15 pertinax.

96. 22 plenus. 31. 32; 101. 6 potens. 26. 3 sciens. 19. 18

similis. 92. 37; 99. 22 spernens.

with verbs: 12. 17 ammoneo. 73. 13 confido et credo.

Gender.

dies (fem.): 2. 7; 17. 3, 10; 59. 5; 88. 5.

stirps (masc.): 90. 1.

Moods.

Gerund and Gerundive.

ablative of gerund (= pres. part.): 81. 6.

dative of work contemplated (with quaesitum): 34. 17.

GRAMMATICAL INDEX

Moods.

- genitive (with *ira*): 28. 19 huiusce accusationis obeundae ira.
 neuter of gerundive (governing accus.): 69. 11 uoletudinem medicandum.
 voiceless (= abstract noun): 33. 2 ad habendum. 33. 2 ad reperendum. 33. 7; 48. 7; 51. 23 ad inspiciendum. 9. 5; 42. 5; 81. 6 fando.
IMPERATIVE (in lieu of protasis): 52. 7 contende, inuenies. 89. 16; 100. 3 iube, inuenies. 100. 25 aperi, probabis.
INDICATIVE (in clauses depending on infin.): 21. 2; 29. 16; 53. 33; 58. 6, 20; 74. 7.
 with *cum* (adversative): 14. 15 cum uisitur.
 (after gratulor, &c.): 27. 12 gratulor cum adnumeror.
 13. 8 habeo gratiam cum . . . audis.
priusquam: 22. 31; 99. 16; 101. 12.
qui (causal or descriptive): 39. 24; 74. 13; 92. 34.
quippe qui: 3. 4; 5. 13; 20. 21; 26. 5; 29. 20; 53. 19.
quod (after *credo*): 79. 25.
 (after *gratulor*): 1. 8.
 (after *praesertim* = *cum* with subj.): 40. 21.
INFINITIVE: exclamation: 17. 8; 78. 8.
 governed by *contemno*: 91. 10.
 curo: 62. 10.
 denuntio: 44. 3.
 habeo: 28. 9; 55. 9.
 infit: 77. 5.
 mitto: 12. 1.
 nescio: 17. 14.
 omitto: 40. 32.
 parco: 23. 15.
 postulo: 47. 1.
 reperio: 33. 21.
 scilicet: 29. 7; 31. 13; 57. 14.
 without subject (see Omission).
Past participle with *nolo*: 98. 9 nollem hoc a me profectum.
 uolo: 61. 21 qui mihi factum uolebat.

SUBJUNCTIVE.

I (Independent).

- concessive: 89. 11 lustro mentitus sit. 90. 22 ego ille sim.
 concessive (in lieu of protasis): 7. 12 dares.
 hortative (in 1st pers. sing.): 9. 22, 30 recitem.
 potential: 7. 23 contemplere.
 prohibition (pres. subj.): 53. 8 ne tu arbitreris.
 'verb of mood' in subj.: 5. 2 deberet. 79. 1 posset. 89. 21 posses.

II (Quasi-dependent).

- deliberative: 55. 15 uin dicam?
 jussive: 8. 2 uelim respondeat. 13. 9 peto audias. 17. 6 uelim respondeas. 44. 25 uellem adesset. 61. 10 adesset denun-

GRAMMATICAL INDEX

Moods.

tiaueritis. 63. 11 iussi iret. 72. 16 orat manerem. 77. 7
suadet referat. 82. 19 sine inspiciam. 96. 22 quaeso sinas.

III (Dependent).

with *antequam*: 60. 1; 76. 9.

priusquam: 2. 17; 3. 11; 44. 7; 58. 28; 69. 15, 20; 74.
27; 75. 16; 86. 20; 94. 3.

quanquam: 3. 29; 16. 19; 55. 8; 57. 10; 90. 14.

quantum, quod (limiting): 38. 14; 40. 29; 57. 2.

quin (nequeo): 48. 13.

quippe qui: 17. 22; 97. 20.

quod (accuso): 10. 5.

(*exprobrio*): 34. 4.

(*gratulor*): 94. 15.

(*improbo*): 10. 11.

(*miror*): 27. 19; 40. 18; 71. 7; 88. 14.

(*obicio*): 67. 11.

(*obiurgatio erat*): 82. 3.

(*paenitere*): 94. 7.

(*reprehendo*): 6. 18; 10. 4.

(*suscenseo*): 5. 20.

(*uitio uorto*): 34. 2.

ut (*aufero*): 72. 20.

(*denuntio*): 44. 15; 63. 4.

(*opperior*): 17. 26.

IV Conditional: protasis, with apodosis in indicative.

9. 19 quid habent, si contendantur? 9. 42 si inspires,
cedent. 18. 9 si percenseas, reperies. 21. 6 si polleat, nemo
exprobrat. 51. 18 nisi eripias, conuertuntur et deuorant.
56. 14 si fanum praetereat, nefas habet. 65. 2 si ipse inter-
roget, taceo. 81. 12 si contendantur, uidebuntur. 82. 21
cuius oratio insimulari potest, si defrudentur. 99. 30 nec
satis fuit ni coererem.

(*esp. uelim, uelis*): 12. 20 si uerum uelis uel si potes non
tam amat, &c. 51. 12 longum est si uelim recensere. 54. 27
dies me deficiet, si omnia uelim persequi. 73. 18 nimis
multa oratio est, si uelim memorare. 80. 12 possum, si
uelim, pluribus. 88. 16 si uerum uelis, uxor auspicatius
ducitur. 98. 11 si per uerum uelis multi mirantur.

apodosis, dubitative with protasis in indicative:

19. 20 si quaeritur, cur pudeat? 87. 7 cur ego blandirem,
si magia confidebam?

Supine in -um (after uenio and ire):

42. 23 consultum. 48. 4 accusatum. 54. 14 accusatum an
interrogatum. 66. 13 ultum. 74. 7 prohibitum.

Supine in -u:

2. 17 facile intellectu. 34. 4 honesta dictu. 38. 9 scitu
necessariis. 38. 13 cognitu raras.

Negatives.

ne (= *nedum*): 39. 22 ne ego reprehendar. 66. 29 ne huic frutici
credam.

GRAMMATICAL INDEX

Negatives.

- ne* (with *ut*): 3. 22; 48. 33; 60. 19.
nec (= *ne* . . . *quidem*): 15. 26; 20. 8, 14; 34. 2; 40. 27; 44. 12
 (bis); 45. 9; 58. 31; 59. 16; 65. 5; 71. 10.
nec (= simple negative): 83. 17 *nec* auscultarent.
nemo . . . *nihil* . . . *non* in prohibitions: 5. 7 *nihil* metuant. 53. 6
nemo tibi blandiatur. 58. 29 *non* insimulet. 70. 24 *nihil*
metuerent.
non (going closely with verb) in final clause: 2. 11 *ut* . . . *non*
plecteretur.
nullus (= *non*): 29. 19 *quos* tamen nullos produxere.

Number.

- Singular for plural: 9. 24 *delicia*. 56. 11 *facetia*.
 Plural for singular: 94. 13 *et al.* *epistulis*.
 (allusive): 10. 17 *Serranis* et *Curiis* et *Fabriciis*.
 88. 26 *Quintis* et *Serranis*.
 Two singulars for plural: 9. 26 *ignis* et *ignis*.
 Plural with singular subjects taken severally: 11. 20 *uox innocentiae*,
silentium maleficio distributa. 20. 21 *inopia desiderio*, *opulentia*
fastidio cernuntur.
 Plural with singular (*κατὰ σύνεσιν*): 12. 4 *geminam deam quamque*
pollentis. 55. 31 *dicite aliquis*.

Omission

- (a) of *sum*: 36. 11 *bene quod*. 84. 13.
 39. 2 *qui se (esse) meminert*.
 (b) of *facio*: 18. 8 *alumni (facere) solent*.
 41. 6 *suomet obsonio (facere) discit*.
 98. 10 *male uos (facitis) qui suggessistis*.
 (c) of other verbs: 11. 1, 2 *qui haec etiam (dixi), qui etiam haec*
(dixistis).
 14. 2 *conditam (seruare)*.
 17. 3 *neque (scire) laboro*. 20. 24.
 18. 7 *neque uult (habere)*.
 20. 3 *qui superuacanea (habere) nolit, possit*
necessaria.
 29. 11 *si conuiuio (quaerere) uellem*.
 38. 8 *animalium genitum (commemorare) per-*
gam.
 44. 6 *et quid ego (dicam) de seruus?*
 (d) of principal verb with *iam*: 22. 16 *iam cetera tam mirifica*.
 27. 25 *iam et illa similia*.
 (e) of subject with dependent infinitive or participle:
 (1) the same as principal verb:
 2. 13 *pollicitus ita facturum*.
 13. 14 *ut igitur habere concedam*.
 46. 4 *ait pueros alios producturum*.
 48. 2 *pollicitus sim curaturum*.
 53. 1 *sunt quae fatearis nescire*.
 55. 14 *repperisse arbitrati sunt*.
 75. 22 *negat posse dissoluere*.

GRAMMATICAL INDEX

Omission

- (2) with different subject to principal verb :
 48. 7 negavit quicquam ultra passam.
 55. 9 maxime fuisse concedam.
 75. 31 ut crederes metuere.
 (f) of object of impersonal verb : 94. 6 dicens paenitere.
 (g) of antecedent : 16. 31 (ei). 75. 8 (ei). 102. 20 (ei).
 (h) of preposition : 16. 6 (in). 44. 5 (ex). 65. 6 (ex).
 (i) of noun : 21. 9 (servos) paucioris.
 93. 12 (pretio) uili.
 (j) of potius with quam : 28. 16 ; 82. 24 ; 103. 18.

Particles.

- an* (= aut) : 1. 11 ; 43. 17, 26.
 anne : 5. 4 ; 56. 25.
 dicam an : 17. 8 ; 102. 10.
 fortasse an : 34. 10 ; 76. 5 ; 92. 1 (fors fuat an).
 ne . . . an : 51. 18 malignone praesagio an naturali appetentia.
 72. 2 fortene an fato.
 numerare an : 103. 6.
atque (marking change of subject in dependent clause) : 16. 32 ; 53. 21.
ceterum (= otherwise) : 41. 21.
cum (advers.) : 14. 15.
 (since) : 1. 12 ; 23. 17 ; 55. 26.
denique (= tandem) : 73. 21 ; 77. 18 ; 93. 10.
 (with second word or clause) : 1. 15 ; 30. 7 ; 40. 7 ; 63. 29 ;
 96. 19.
doubled particles (or *adverbial expressions*) : see Introd. pp. lii, liii.
 37. 5 tum in eo tempore. 43. 12 ; 68. 20 uerum enimvero.
 44. 27 ; 101. 2 hic ibidem. 70. 22 tandem aliquando. 73. 30
 tunc deinde. 100. 9 immo enimvero.
enim (as first word) : 18. 2 ; 42. 12 ; 98. 27 ; 99. 19.
 at enim : 9. 9 ; 17. 21 ; 20. 14 ; 27. 22 ; 40. 12 ; 85. 16.
 immo enim : 52. 1 ; 85. 30 ; 86. 11.
 sed enim : 25. 17 ; 31. 14 ; 33. 20 ; 53. 29 ; 56. 7 ; 64. 20 ;
 77. 1 ; 81. 7 ; 85. 24.
 uel enim : 88. 20.
enimvero (sometimes practically = but ; cp. however, Hand, Turs.,
 ii, 407) : 3. 31 ; 14. 20 ; 24. 13 ; 26. 19 ; 31. 3 ; 50. 10.
eo ad : 68. 21. *eo . . . quo* (= because) : 24. 20. *eo . . . quo*
 (= in order that) : 77. 3.
equidem : 1. 1 (see note).
et (advers.) : 19. 9.
 — ipse : 20. 1 ; 32. 4 ; 42. 3 ; 51. 9 ; 58. 2 ; 89. 11.
igitur (resumptive) : 17. 23 ; 37. 2.
interea or *interim* (redundant) : 36. 26 ; 37. 16 ; 61. 19.
iam (= moreover) : 22. 16 ; 27. 25 ; 30. 17.
namque : 11. 17.
ne (= indeed) : 35. 19.
neque autem : 66. 13 ; 95. 17.

GRAMMATICAL INDEX

Particles.

nisi forte (iron.): 6. 16; 14. 8; 30. 10; 58. 22; 66. 24; 89. 25.

— *si*: 17. 7.

quam, *nimis* *quam*: 48. 15.

omitted with numbers: 89. 18; 93. 15.

oppido *quam*: 67. 22.

without *potius*: 28. 16; 82. 24; 103. 18.

qui (in wish): 75. 2.

quoniam (= *postquam*): 17. 29.

si (= *cum*): 10. 33; 87. 17.

— *tamen* (= if indeed): 10. 22; 23. 3; 43. 17.

usque *hocusque*: 85. 2.

nuper *usque*: 16. 25; 23. 15.

usque *adeo*: 36. 3; 50. 18; 95. 20.

ut (= *though*): 69. 3.

(= *utinam*): 46. 9.

with *aeque*: 14. 13; 99. 22.

with *exinde*: 3. 28; 24. 26; 98. 2.

with *itidem*: 10. 12; 26. 16.

with *proinde*: 61. 25.

Prepositions.

a or *ab*, *otiose*: 4. 19 *ab ore honestissimos*.

agent: 20. 15 *a suamet auaritia superatus*.

on the side of: 53. 23 *a uobis stat*.

with *compello* (from): 71. 2 *ab obstinata uiduitate compulsum*.

obsto (from): 16. 28 *a probatore obstitit*.

tempero (from): 2. 28 *ab eius pernicie temperarit*.

48. 11 *a laudibus tui tempero*.

absque, away from: 55. 22 *absque omnibus profanis*.

abusque, all the way from: 57. 23 *abusque Oeensium finibus*.

ad before (place): 13. 16 *ad speculum*.

for the time of: 23. 16 *ad tempestium imbrem*.

to produce, with a view to (purpose, result, &c.): 1. 10 *ad difficultatem*. 4. 26 *ad lenocinium decoris*. 21. 19 *ad usum sui*. 22. 1 *ad contumeliam*. 29. 2 *ad suspicionem*. 31. 5 *ad magian*. (adiutare). 32. 3 *ad magicas potestates* (adiutare).

42. 5 *ad magica maleficia*. 43. 8 *ad obliuionem praesentium* (externari). 79. 21 *ad perniciem . . . ad salutem*. 88. 17 *ad prolem*. 97. 19 *ad ignominiam*.

esp. with *gerund* and *gerundive*: 2. 6 *ad accusandum*. 14. 25 *ad similitudinem referundam*. 33. 7; 48. 6; 51. 23 *ad inspiciendum*. 59. 12 *ad repotia cenae obeunda*. 66. 19 *ad illustrandum ingenii florem*. 76. 4 *ad experiendum*.

to suit: 32. 8 *ad tristitudinem*. 55. 25 *ad tempus*. 67. 10; 82. 23 *ad lubidinem*.

until, up to the point of: 5. 4; 56. 13 *ad hoc aeui*. 69. 7 *ad extremum uitae discrimen*. 76. 18 *ad teruncium*.

with *adj.* *docilis*: 92. 28.

idoneus: 19. 2.

GRAMMATICAL INDEX

Prepositions.

- imperitus : 3. 32.
 inexplebilis : 20. 7.
 melior : 21. 15.
 moratus : 90. 12.
 morigerus : 14. 16 ; 74. 28.
 necessarius : 33. 2.
 rarus : 33. 2.
 utilis : 31. 13 ; 93. 2.
 with noun metus : 75. 8 ad introeundum metus.
 with verb confingo : 22. 13 ; 33. 15 ; 42. 8 ; 97. 15.
 confirmo : 46. 8.
 facio : 31. 4.
 sumo : 35. 15.
 utor : 15. 15 ; 19. 11 ; 40. 7 ; 45. 1 ; 46. 12, 20.
apud among : 9. 15 apud nos.
 before (place) ; 54. 7 apud bonum iudicem.
 in the time of ; 18. 13 prisca apud saecula.
 with : 91. 25 apud filios eius maneret. 92. 26 apud maritum remanet.
circa (= erga) towards : 72. 10 circa honorem meum. 98. 12 circa puerum istum. 99. 31 liberalitatem circa me.
coram following its case : 44. 2 me coram decedit.
de adverbial phrases : 1. 13 de composito. 2. 7 de professo. 3. 8 ; 101. 4 de cetero. 45. 21 ; 51. 4 ; 69. 17 de nihilo. 59. 18 de consilio. 88. 23 de proximo.
 as to : 5. 1 de eloquentia. 24. 1 de patria.
 by means of : 59. 20 ; 98. 15 de facie.
 from : 8. 8 (like an adj.) carbone de rogo. 17. 30 de mensa emi. 18. 23 de publico. 57. 12 de die (= breaking into the day).
 to decide : 18. 21 de causa ista.
 two uses combined : 37. 15 de principio (from), de piscibus (about).
ex after : 1. 19 ex uerbis rem. 17. 7 ex uno tris.
 as the outcome of : 32. 24 ex illis. 59. 4 ex crapula adtemptatur. 72. 5 ex fatigatione adfectus. 84. 15 ex otio.
 on the standard of (with coniecto) : 91. 20 ex sua rapacitate. 99. 25 ex sua auaritia.
 otiose (= with) : 5. 3 ; 74. 15 ex summis uiribus.
in as to : 63. 5 in rem absentem mentiri. 99. 26 in praeteritum.
 otiose (of time) : 37. 5 ; 41. 17 ; 57. 9 ; 62. 16 ; 79. 24 ; 87. 21 in eo tempore. 97. 3 in extremo tempore uitae.
 up to : 18. 20 ; 38. 13 ; 53. 22 in hodiernum.
 within (of time) : 57. 18 ; 97. 14 in paucis mensibus. 75. 29 in paucis annis.
ob before (place) : 89. 7 ob os obiciuntur.
prae otiose (comparison) : 71. 4 prae ceteris maluisse.
pro as : 1. 1 pro uero obtinebam. 2. 23 pro falso infamarit. 3. 14 pro maximo crimine aspernatur. 52. 14 pro uero insimulas, pro facto criminis. 73. 17 neque pro amico neque pro philosopho facturum. 75. 15 pro adulteris deprehenduntur.

GRAMMATICAL INDEX

Prepositions.

90. 10 pro factis habenda. 91. 8 pro confessione criminis haberi.

before (place): 53. 34; 85. 4 pro tribunali. 100. 22 pro tribunalibus.

in accordance with: 7. 16 pro meo captu. 13. 12 pro rei atrocitate. 14. 7 pro meritis praemio tribui. 28. 2 pro accusationis longitudine. 57. 25 pro studio bibendi.

instead of: 9. 38 pro uerno flore. 9. 40 pro implexis sertis.

Pronouns.

is qui of 1st person: 3. 21 *is qui* sedulo laboro.

iste (for *hic*): 6. 15; 18. 21, 30; 28. 5; 66. 9; 74. 15.

qui (without antecedent): 16. 31; 75. 8; 102. 20.

(without verb): 11. 1, 2.

redundancy, *alius* with *aliquis*: 102. 16.

eorum: 38. 3.

pronoun repeated resumptively after noun: 2. 6 *eam*.

4. 15 *eum*. 4. 18 *eum*. 8. 17 *ea*. 9. 16 *isti*. 17. 23

ei. 39. 3 *ei*. 50. 24 *eam*. 53. 36 *is*. 58. 16 *hunc*.

89. 3 *ea*. 93. 11 *eam*.

quisquam with *nemo* and *nihil*: 7. 4; 22. 4; 31. 5.

unus with *nemo*: 74. 12.

unemphatic subject of verb: 1. 6, 16, &c. (See Leky, p. 9.)

with interjection: 25. 18 *em tibi*. 63. 14 *em uobis*.

Tenses.

perfect for present: 36. 24 *habuere*.

pluperfect for imperfect subjunctive: 61. 16, 18 *elaborasset* . . . *supplicassem*.

pluperfect for imperfect indic. (*fuera*m for *eram*): 68. 8; 72. 8; 76. 10; 94. 9; 96. 17; 99. 19; 102. 9.

pluperfect for perfect: 93. 11 *dixeram* (= *dixi*).

present followed by historic sequence: 72. 16 *orat* (historic) *manerem*; 90. 2, 5 *respondeat* ob quod *emolumentum pellexissem*.

present for imperfect subjunctive (in apodosis): 45. 26 *cuius pueritia etsi nihil refragaretur, tamen accusatio fidem derogat*.

Voice.

active for deponent: 87. 7 *blandirem* (cp. 53. 6 *blandiatur*).

deponent for active: 8. 18; 37. 8 *comperior*. 15. 11 *complacitus*. 25. 1 *puditum est*.

deponent with passive meaning: 2. 7 *de professo* (cp. 89. 5 *professus est*). 28. 15 *interpretatis* (cp. 73. 10 *interpretatur*). 49. 5 *fabricata*. 62. 9 *fabricatum*. 63. 2 *fabricatam* (cp. 63. 13 *fabricatus est*). 81. 13 *commentum* (cp. 79. 4 *commenta est*).

passive verb with passive infin.: 2. 14 *quitus est percelli*. 92. 25 *reddi nequitur*.

transitive verb with intrans. meaning: 3. 27; 56. 23 *audio* (= be called). 16. 19 *demuto*. 82. 14 *turbo*.

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AP 9b



